National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XV. NO. 14. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1854. WHOLE NO. 742.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY (ON SATURDAY),
At $2 per annum,
BY THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
At its Office, 142 Nassau St., New York,
AND AT THE OFFICE OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
31 North Fifth St., Philadelphia.

Selections.

THE SARATOGA CONVENTION.

THOSE who foretold that this Convention would prove a failure are, perhaps, by this time, convinced that they were false prophets, or if not, they will be before the returns of the next election are received. So far was it from being a failure, that it may safely be pronounced one of the most important political assemblages New York has ever seen. It was important from the men who composed it, representing as they did the best elements of the State—men who have filled prominent and influential positions in our political struggles for years, and who were now brought together by an absorbing sense of duty and a common impulse of resistance to the encroachments of the common enemy. That there were differences of opinion as to some of the measures to be adopted under the circumstances was only natural; but differences as to principles there were none. No man there but heartily assented to the doctrines laid down in the resolves adopted; and we dare say there is not a free-souled and sound-headed voter in the State but will earnestly take his stand on that platform and yield his support to no party and no candidate that does not fully come up to its standard. We reprint its assertion of principles, correcting the errors that disfigured it as reported by telegraph in the journals of yesterday.

"Whereas, The present Congress, by a vote of a minority of the members elected to the House, has deliberately and wantonly re-opened the controversy respecting the extension of slavery under our National jurisdiction, which a majority of the People had understood to be closed forever by the successive Compromises of 1820 and 1850; and

"Whereas, This Congress, aided and impelled by the Federal Executive, has, by the Act currently known as the Nebraska Bill, designedly subverted so much of the compact commonly termed the Missouri Compromise as excluded slavery forever from that vast central region of our continent stretching from the Mississippi to the Rocky Mountains, and from the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min. to the northern boundry of our Union, the State of Missouri alone being excepted; and

"Whereas, The people of this State, through an unbroken series of seventy years, during the former half of which they were themselves a slaveholding community, have solemnly attested, through every channel of popular and legislative action, their determined and emphatic purpose that the extension of slavery shall be forbidden, obstructed, and prevented by positive law; therefore,

"Resolved, That the State of New York, now as ever, affirms and maintains the right and the duty of the Federal Government to prohibit and preclude the extension, establishment or perpetuation of human slavery in any and every Territory of the United States, and in any Territory, possession or country over which the Union now has, or may hereafter acquire, exclusive jurisdiction; and in support of this position we appeal to the uniform opinions, expressions and acts of our statesmen, legislators and people, from 1784 to this day.

"Resolved, That the doctrine affirmed by the Nebraska Bill, and gilded over by its advocates with the specious phrases of 'Non-Intervention' and 'Popular Sovereignty,' is really and clearly a complete surrender of all the ground hitherto asserted and maintained by the free States with respect to the limitation of Slavery, and is a plain concession and recoguition of the right of slaveholders to transfer their human chattels to any part of the Public Domain, and there hold them as slaves, so long as cupidity may tempt, and force shall suffice, to detain them in servitude.

"Resolved, That unbroken experience attests that free labour and slave labour cannot co-exist on the same soil—that wherever slavery is tolerated, there free labour dies out or sinks into a mere satellite, and convenience of the plantation and its managers—so that the admission of slavery into Kansas and Nebraska involves the practical exclusion therefrom of ourselves and our children through all coming time, with that paralysis of Invention, interdiction of Industrial Progress, and degradation of Labour, which are the inevitable attendants of the slaveholding system.

"Resolved, That against the doctrines, tendencies and natural consequences involved in the Nebraska Bill, so calculated to dishonour our country in the eyes of mankind, and to discourage and confound the champions of Liberty and Progress throughout the world, we declare uncompromising war, and, in the spirit and faith of our fathers, will struggle to the last for the reconstruction of Nebraska and Kansas to the ennobling occupation and use of Free Labour and Freemen.

"Resolved, That we protest against that abuse of the term 'Non-Intervention' which is intended to cover and uphold the intervention of the State between the oppressor and his victim in behalf of the former; we denounce that abuse of the phrase 'Popular Sovereignty' which would make it a cloak for legalizing the absolute subjugation of a part of the human race to the will and pleasure of others, and we demand of Government, as a primary duty, perpetual intervention on the side of Justice, Equality and Liberty, and in vindication of each innocent man's sovereignty over himself.

"Resolved, That the deliberate repudiation by the Slave Power, on the very first opportunity, of the solemn compact forced upon our fathers by its representatives, whereby the Territories now known as Nebraska and Kansas were consecrated forever to Freedom, has absolved us from all compacts or agreements outside of the Federal Constitution with reference to slavery, and we now take our stand distinctly on the principle that ALL TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES MUST HENCEFORTH BE FREE TERRITORY, AND ALL STATES HEREAFTER ADMITTED MUST COME INTO THE UNION AS FREE STATES.

"Resolved, That we heartily approve the course of the Freemen of Connecticut, Vermont, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin and Michigan, in postponing or disregarding their minor differences of opinion or preference, and acting together cordially and trustingly in the sacred cause of Free Labour, and Free Soil, and we commend their spirit to the freemen of this and other States, exhorting each to renounce his party whenever and wherever that party proves unfaithful to human Freedom.

"Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered to our Senators, and the great majority of our Representatives in Congress, for the ability, fidelity and courtesy wherewith they upheld throughout the long, arduous and unequal struggle on the Nebraska Bill, against the power of patronage, and the despotism of a factitious and anomalous majority, the settled convictions of their State, the principles of their constituents, and the interests of Freedom.

"Resolved, That we heartily approve and commend to universal sympathy and aid the efforts now in progress to organize a systematic colonization with free souls and strong arms, first of Kansas, and successively of all the other Territories and unpeopled regions exposed to the blight and scourge of slavery; and we challenge those who say they are as much opposed to slavery as we are, but have never found yet a satisfactory opportunity to demonstrate their faith and their works, to vie with us in promoting this constitutional and unobjectionable plan for securing the Territories to Freedom."

The practical points of political effort embraced in these manly and comprehensive resolves, adopted by this numerous and most respectable Convention, and to which its members have pledged themselves, are:

I. The restoration of the Anti-Slavery proviso in Kansas and Nebraska.

II. All the Territories of the United States shall be free.

III. No more Slave States shall be admitted into the Union.

IV. This policy shall be held superior to all party considerations, and every party shall be abandoned which does not make the same its first object.

Such is the basis of action agreed upon by this Convention, and we speak within bounds when we say that it will be enthusiastically and permanently adopted by the great mass of voters in the State. Those who reject it must be a very small minority, and not a whit more influential in character than in numbers.

It is hardly necessary to add a word in support of any of these points, for they would seem to commend themselves to the general common sense of the people, and to express the convictions of at least the greater portion of those who are seriously determined to resist the Extension of Slavery and the Slave Power over the citizens of the whole Republic. The wisdom of seeking to restore the law of freedom in Kansas and Nebraska has, however, been questioned by the *Evening Post*, and for the alleged reason that it is impracticable. The pro-slavery majority of the Senate, and the President, with his pro-slavery veto, stand in the way, we are told. But is the *Post* not aware that a determined House of Representatives can overcome these obstacles? Give us such a majority as would be composed of the members from the northern States, and the Senate and President must yield, just as in the British Government the Lords and the monarch have had to yield to the lower House. It only needs a steady and resolute majority, which will pass no appropriation bill without that proviso annexed, to carry the point and restore the rights of freedom.

One noble feature of this platform is its far-reaching character. It is not temporary and short-lived, but enlists its soldiers for the war, and declares perpetual opposition to the entrance into the Union of a single slave State. This is nothing more than the duty of all who love freedom and would not see the inhumanities and crimes of bondage more widely spread; it is a duty to which every citizen may freely devote himself, for all compromises and agreements to the contrary have been annulled by the voluntary and gratuitous act of the Slave Power; and it sets up a safeguard against the national dishonour of fillibuster land larcenies, to which we are otherwise constantly and increasingly exposed. No more slave States! may henceforth be reckoned to be a fixed first principle with the freemen of New York, and indeed of all the unenslavsd portions of the Republic.

—We have seen no correct account of the closing proceedings of the Convention; and, as some importance is attached to them, we will endeavour from memory to supply the deficiency:

The Committee on Resolutions, after having agreed upon those forming the Platform submitted to and adopted by the Convention, considered the subject of giving effect to those Resolves by nominations and votes, and finally agreed upon the following:

"10. Resolved, That this Convention adjourn to meet again in Auburn at 10 o'clock, A. M., of Tuesday, Sep. 26, charged with the duty of of presenting candidates for State Officers, to be appointed at the ensuing election, who shall represent and uphold the principles embodied in these resolutions; [and that if there shall then be candidates already in nomination, fully, openly, and satisfactorily committed to these principles, then it is our judgment that such candidates should be adopted by said Convention at Auburn; but if not, then independent candidates should be nominated."]

Mr. Greeley, in reporting the Platform and the above, stated that they were all that had been formally adopted by the Committee; but there was another which had been in substance agreed to, though overlooked in the inevitable haste of preparation to meet the Convention on its reassembling at 3, P. M. That resolution, which he could now only offer as a Delegate, having no opportunity to consult his colleagues, was as follows:

"11. Resolved, That to said Convention at Auburn, each Assembly District not represented in this body be invited to send delegates; and in the divisions of said Convention a majority of the delegates present from any Assembly District be authorized to cast the vote of said District."

The former of these Resolves having provoked much opposition, and the hour growing late, Mr. Raymond, acting for the majority of the Committee, as a peace-offering, withdrew the latter half of it (all that relates to candidates already in nomination) and asked a vote on the remainder, which was carried by an overwhelming majority; and then Mr. Raymond asked a vote on the last Resolution, as above, which was likewise carried. Thereupon the Convention adjourned without day. Such are the essential but hitherto misstated facts.—*Tribune.*

CASE OF S. M. BOOTH—HABEAS CORPUS DENIED.

OPINION OF CHIEF JUSTICE WHITON.

THE STATE OF WISCONSIN—SUPREME COURT.
In the matter of the Petition of SHERMAN M. BOOTH for a writ of Habeas Corpus, and to be discharged from Imprisonment.

WE think that this application must be denied. The petitioner states, in his petition for the writ, that he is imprisoned in the common jail of the County of Milwaukee; and that the cause or pretence of his commitment to the said jail, according to the best of his knowledge and belief, is a warrant from Andrew G. Miller, Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Wisconsin; a copy of which warrant is annexed to the petition. The petitioner states further, that the indictment mentioned in said warrant is founded upon a pretended violation of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which he represents as unconstitutional and void. The warrant annexed to the petition commands the Marshal of the District to take the petitioner and him safely keep so that he should have his body before the District Court of the United States for the District of Wisconsin, forthwith to answer to an indictment pending in said Court against him, for aiding and abetting and assisting the escape of Joshua Glover from the custody of Charles C. Cotton, a Deputy Marshal. The warrant is attested in the name of the Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Wisconsin; is sealed with the seal of that Court, and signed by its clerk. In the case of Ableman vs. the State of Wisconsin, *ex rel.* Booth, decided at the present term of the Court, we held that the issuing of a writ of Habeas Corpus by a State Magistrate authorized to issue the writ, to bring before him a person who had been committed by a Commissioner of the United States, for refusing to enter into a recognizance with sureties for his appearance before the District Court of the United States to answer for an alleged offence, and the discharge of the prisoner so committed, did not interfere with the jurisdiction of that Court. But we said distinctly that when a Court had obtained jurisdiction of a case, no other Court of concurrent jurisdiction would interfere, and that when the jurisdiction of a Court was exclusive, no other Court could take jurisdiction at all. We supposed this to be a familiar principle, which would be denied by no one.

We are still of this opinion, and if the present application for the writ showed that the petitioner was in confinement for refusing to recognise with sureties for his appearance before the District Court of the United States for this District, in obedience to the order of a Commissioner, or other inferior Magistrate, we should not hesitate to issue the writ. But the facts set forth in the petition for the writ show that the petitioner is in confinement by force of a warrant issued by the Court, and that the object of the imprisonment is to compel him to answer an indictment now pending against him therein. These facts show that the District Court of the United States has obtained jurisdiction of the case, and it is apparent that the indictment pending against the petitioner is for an offence of which the Courts of the United States have exclusive jurisdiction. We do not see, therefore, how we can, consistently with the principles of our former decision, interfere. It is true that we are not asked to take the case from the District Court of the United States, and try the petitioner for the offence with which he is charged, but we are asked to remove him from the custody of that Court and discharge him, if, in our opinion, his imprisonment is illegal. In other words, we are called upon to do an act which would prevent the Court of the United States from proceeding to try and determine a case now pending before it, and of which it has exclusive jurisdiction. For without the custody of its prisoner, that Court cannot proceed to a trial of him for the alleged offence. But it is said by the petitioner, the Act of Congress, for violating which he is indicted, is void, for the reason that it is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, and that, consequently, the petition shows that no offence has been committed by the petitioner. And it is further claimed by him, that the District Court of the United States cannot obtain jurisdiction of a criminal proceeding when the facts show that no offence has been committed. In other words, that no Court can have jurisdiction to try a person for an alleged violation of a void statute. Hence the petitioner concludes that, by issuing a writ of Habeas Corpus, and discharging him from custody, we should not disturb the jurisdiction of the District Court, for the very obvious reason that it never acquired jurisdiction. But it is to be remembered that that Court, having the case pending before it, is of necessity compelled to decide every question which the case involves—that of its own jurisdiction included. It must, therefore, retain the case in order to decide that, as well as every other question that may arise. No State Court can, therefore, interfere.

The application must be denied.

WHITON, *Chief Justice.*

OPINION OF JUSTICE SMITH.

Concurring, as I do, with my brethren in the denial of the prayer of the petitioner for a writ of Habeas Corpus, upon the application now presented, it may not be improper for me to place on file my reasons for such concurrence. Although different minds may arrive at the same conclusion from given premises, yet, as their several steps of progress towards such result may not be precisely similar, I desire to state the principles on which I base my judgment in this case.

In my opinion upon the first application to me for a writ of Habeas Corpus, in reference to the award of such writ, I said:

"There was no question pertaining to the subject matter of the application, nor connected with the parties, which approached in the slightest degree to a conflict of jurisdiction between the State and Federal Courts, or the Judges thereof. The warrant, by virtue of which the petitioner was held, was not issued by a Federal Judge or Court, but by a Commissioner of the District Court of the United States. No exclusive or ultimate jurisdiction can be claimed for an officer of this kind. As one of the Justices of the highest judicial tribunal of this State, which tribunal represents in that behalf the sovereignty of the State, I could not deny to any citizen or person entitled to the protection of the State the proper process by which the validity of a warrant issued by such authority could be examined. Nor can I admit that a Court Commissioner, holding his appointment at the will of the Court, responsible only to such Court, in fact irresponsible and unimpeachable, has the right or the power, or can have the right or the power, to issue any process by which a citizen of the State may be imprisoned, that may not be examined, and its validity tested by the proper judicial authority of the State."

The distinction was here taken, at the very outset, between a warrant or process, issued by a Commissioner of the United States, and process issued from a Court of the United States. The judicial power of the former was denied altogether; and hence the interference of the State magistracy to protect the citizen could in no just manner involve, or lead to, a conflict between the State and Federal Courts. Should the State judiciary yield up such authority, the citizen might be left to the mere caprice or mercy of an irresponsible tribunal, unknown to, and unauthorized by, the fundamental law which the people had adopted as the charter of their rights and liberties. The Commissioner had no power to examine or determine the validity of the law under which his warrant was issued, because he was not, nor could he be, endowed with any judicial functions. Whatever acts he could perform were, at most, merely ministerial, and, however repugnant to the Constitution the law might be, he had no authority but to yield implicitly to its requirements, if he attempted to act at all. Hence the necessity of holding his acts subject to judicial cognizance and examination. When the prisoner was first brought up, on the writ of Habeas Corpus issued by me, he was for the first time brought within the cognizance of a judicial tribunal. Judgment was pronounced upon the hearing, and doubtless that judgment would have been enforced had further process been found necessary. But obedience was yielded to the order of discharge, and no attempt has been made to arrest the prisoner, on the original warraut or on any one similar. We declared the Act of Congress of September 18, 1850, unconstitutional, and our judgment upon that process and the subject matter then before us has been respected and obeyed.

But the judgment of this Court upon the writ of Habeas Corpus was no bar to new and original proceedings on the part of the United States Court. It could not be pleaded in bar, even in similar original proceedings in our own State Courts. If a person arrested for the violation of an Act of the State Legislature should be discharged from arrest upon Habeas Corpus, on the ground of the unconstitutionality of such enactment, such discharge could not be pleaded in bar to an indictment subsequently found for the same offence. His discharge is by no means an acquittal. He would still be liable to arrest and trial upon indictment, and, at the proper time or stage of the proceedings, the unconstitutionality of the act could be urged in his defence; and the reasonable and legal presumption would be, that the Court, having the case under cognizance, would properly declare the law.

In this case, when the prisoner was first brought up on the writ of Habeas Corpus, he was within the State jurisdiction exclusively. It then became our duty to decide upon the validity of the process and of the law, by virtue of which he was held. He was discharged. Thus ended our jurisdiction in the case. But our judgment in that case could not be pleaded in bar to a future indictment found against the prisoner for the same offence.

Subsequently, the prisoner is indicted in the District Court of the United States, and the proper process is issued to bring in the defendant to answer. His defence (among other things) is, that the law which he is alleged to have violated is repugnant to the Constitution of the United States. In the former case he was held under the process of an officer who had no power to hear and determine upon the validity of the law, or the allegations of the defendant against its validity. But now he is held under process of a Court, a judicial tribunal, having full power and authority to decide upon all the questions or allegations presented in his behalf. The legal and just presumption is that that Court will declare the law as it is. If the Act of Congress which he is charged with having violated be repugnant to the Constitution of the United States, we are bound to presume that that Court will so decide. And, certainly, it would indicate a very great want of judicial confidence and integrity if the State and Federal Courts should attempt to wrest, the one from the other, the jurisdiction of causes, upon the mere suspicion that the one or the other would not decide according to law. Here, no application to the Court, by virtue of whose process the petitioner is held, has been made for his discharge; no allegation that the proper means of relief had been denied him; no intimation that he has sought relief from that source and been refused it; but we are asked to interfere in this preliminary stage of the proceedings of that Court, before the latter has had any opportunity of applying or construing the law, and to issue a writ, which would, by that very act, indicate an unworthy distrust of a judicial tribunal, instituted in conformity with, and bound by, the same Constitution, which is the paramount law of our own. The counsel for the petitioner could hardly have calculated the disastrous result of such premature proceeding.

It may be said that the Federal Court can acquire no jurisdiction under an unconstitutional law. For the sake of the argument, admit the fact to be so. It only amounts to a *question* of jurisdiction after all; and whenever such question arises in a proceeding in Court, shall another Court interfere to decide that question before the former has had an opportunity to decide upon its own process and to set itself right upon the matter of its own jurisdiction? Many questions of jurisdiction arise in our own court. Will any one pretend that the parties in such case may go to another tribunal and have that question determined for us? In no case, perhaps, has the question of our jurisdiction been so strenuously contested as in the matter of the former petition of this applicant. Is it supposed that this Court would have permitted the petitioner and his cause to have been taken from us by the Federal Court while that matter was pending before us, and to allow that question to be decided for us? and that, even before the subject had been presented to and passed upon by this court? I mention these illustrations in order to show what is due by one judicial tribunal to another.

The matter of jurisdiction is a legitimate question to be raised even collaterally. But no principle of jurisdiction, no precedent, can be found by which one court is authorized to inquire preliminarily into the jurisdiction of another, or to wrest the party or subject matter of a cause from such jurisdiction.

On the first writ the State Judge had jurisdiction, as he thought, and he could not have permitted any person to refuse obedience to his process, on the ground of his want of jurisdiction. No such course was attempted. The question of jurisdiction was raised, it is true, by the attorney for the United States, on the return of the writ, before the officer who issued it. The Federal Court was not applied to, for the purpose of arresting the proceedings before him, and of deciding, beforehand, for him, the question of his own jurisdiction. Had such procedure been attempted, it would have afforded a novel precedent in the judicial proceedings, and, it is needless to say, would not have been submitted to for a moment. Every Court (of the grade of which we are speaking) is presumed to be competent to hear and determine upon its own jurisdiction, and all other Courts are bound to presume that such determination will be according to law. And, although other Courts may not in all cases be bound by such decision, yet no Court is authorized by law to take that matter out of the Court whose process has first attached, and assume the right of adjudication, before the former has had an opportunity to hear and determine the matter for itself. Yet this is precisely what we are asked to do in this case.

We have decided that the Fugitive Act of September 18th, 1850, is unconstitutional. But this decision is not binding upon the Courts of another sovereignty, over which we have no control. Whenever that act is brought in question in a proceeding in this Court, or in the judicial tribunals of this State, that judgment will be the rule of the decision, until it is reversed. Believing that to be the law, it would be both illegal and unwise to entertain a suspicion that other Courts independent of this would be less mindful of the great constitutional guaranties of personal liberty than we ourselves have been.

For these reasons, as well as those urged by the Chief Justice, I concur in the judgment of the Court denying this application.

There are general principles applicable to all Courts, and binding upon them. But the statute of this State interposes an effectual barrier to our action in this. The 18th section of chapter 124 of the revised statutes provides that it shall be the duty of the officer forthwith to remand the prisoner, if he is held "by virtue of process issued by any Court or Judge of the United States, in a case where such Court or Judge has exclusive jurisdiction." It would be idle to grant the writ when it is apparent upon the face of the petition, that our own statute would compel an immediate remanding of the prisoner.

Perhaps it ought to be mentioned here, that there is a very great distinction between Commissioners of the United States, and Commissioners of our own State. Our Constitution expressly provides for such officers, and authorizes the conferring upon them judicial power, which the Constitution of the United States does not do. Whatever may be the ultimate rights of the citizen, it is apparent that this application is premature, and that well-established rules of law, as well as the positive provisions of our own statute preclude our interference.

SMITH, *Justice.*

ICHABOD!

I HEARD the train's shrill whistle call,
I saw an earnest look beseech,
And, rather by that look than speech,
My neighbour told me all.

And as I thought of Liberty,
Marched, hand-cuffed, down that sworded street,
The solid earth beneath my feet
Reeled fluid as the sea.

I felt a sense of bitter loss—
Shame, tearless grief, and stifling wrath,
And loathing fear, as if my path
A serpent stretched across.

All love of home, all pride of place,
All generous confidence and trust,
Sank smothering in that deep distrust
And anguish of disgrace.

Down on my native hills of June,
And home's green quiet, hiding all,
Fell sudden darkness like the fall
Of midnight upon noon!

And Law, an unloosed maniac, strong,
Blood-drunken, through the blackness trod,
Hoarse-shouting in the ear of God
The blasphemy of wrong.

"Oh, Mother! from thy memories proud,
Thy old renown, dear Commonwealth,
Lend this dead air a breeze of health,
And smite with stars this cloud.

"Mother of Freedom! wise and brave,
Rise awful in thy strength," I said;
Ah, me! I spoke but to the dead;
I stood upon her grave!

J. G. W.

—*National Era.*

SPEECH OF AN OCTOGENARIAN.

HON. JOSIAH QUINCY, SR.—who, besides filling, in times past, various political offices, was for many years President of Harvard University—was one of the Vice-Presidents of the recent Massachusetts Whig Convention. Being called upon for a speech, he responded as follows.

I came to this meeting *by invitation*, as a citizen—not as a partisan; with no intention to *volunteer* a word on the occasion, but with a fixed purpose to respond, if called upon, as became an individual who has in this world now little to hope, and, I thank God, nothing to fear; who has behind him only the memory of the past, and before him the opening grave in which he must soon be deposited.

From such an individual you have a right to expect words of truth, duty and soberness.

I come not here to utter vituperative demonstrations against the slaveholders of the South. They have used the powers vested in them by the Constitution, for their own interests, as every other selfish association of men would have done, under the same circumstances, with the same powers, and under the same temptations. In every step of the progress of the Slave Power, they have had members of the Free States as half workers. If the Free States would regain their influence, they must *cultivate a higher standard* of political morality among themselves; they must disgrace the doctrine that "all is right in politics," and regard him who has notoriously sold himself for place or for office as a traitor to principle and to his country.

The Nebraska fraud, as it is called, is nothing more than the last act of a series of aggressions on the Free States which slaveholders have practised for more than fifty years, in no one of which could they have been successful except through the divisions and corruptions of the Free States themselves. So far from complaining of this Nebraska perfidy, I rejoice in it.

It is said, it is "the last straw that breaks the camel's back." I trust in Heaven that this Nebraska perfidy will prove to be that last straw which will excite the camel of the North to rise in its spirit and strength and toss from his back one at least of the many burdens with which he is oppressed.

The Nebraska fraud is not that burden on which I intend now to speak. There is one nearer home, more immediately present and more insupportable. Of what that burden is, I shall speak plainly. The obligation incumbent upon the Free States to deliver up fugitive slaves is that burden—*and it must be obliterated from that Constitution at every hazard.* And such obliteration can be demonstrated to be as much the interest of the South as it is of the North.

The circumstances in which the people of Massachusetts are *placed* in consequence of that burden are undeniable, and they are also undeniably insupportable. What has been seen? what has been felt? by every man, woman, and child, in Massachusetts. We have seen our Court House in chains, *two battalions of dragoons, eight regiments of artillery, twelve companies of infantry, the whole constabulary force of the city police, the entire disposable marine of the United States, with its artillery loaded for action, all marching in support of a Pretorian band, consisting of one hundred and twenty friends and associates of the United States Marshal, with loaded pistols and drawn swords, and in military costume and array —for what purpose?* TO ESCORT AND CONDUCT A POOR TREMBLING SLAVE FROM A BOSTON COURT HOUSE TO THE FETTERS AND LASH OF HIS MASTER!

This display of military force the *Mayor* of this city officially *declared* to be *necessary* on the occasion. Nay, more, at a public festival, he openly took to himself the glory of this display, declaring that by it life and liberty had been saved, and the honour of Boston vindicated!

I make *no comments.* I state *facts* as the grounds out of which spring the duties of the people of Massachusetts.

I state *another* fact still more conclusive and illustrative of those duties.

This scene (thus awful, thus detestable) every inhabitant of this metropolis, nay, more, every inhabitant of this Commonwealth, may be compelled again to witness at any and every day of the year, at the will or the whim of the meanest and basest slaveholder of the South. This also is undeniable.

Now, *is* there a man in Massachusetts with a spirit so low, so debased, so corrupted by his fears or his fortune, that he is prepared to say that *this is a condition of things to be endured*, in perpetuity, by us, and that this is an inheritance to be transmitted by us to our children for all generations? For so long as the fugitive slave clause remains in the Constitution of the United States, unobliterated, it is an obligation perpetual upon them, as well as upon us.

And is this inheritance we are about to transmit to our children an inheritance of freedom? No, fellow-citizens—it is an inheritance worse than that of slavery.

There is *not a negro* in the South that *can be compelled*, even by his master, to cut the throat or blow out the brains of his brother negro. Yet, so long as the fugitive slave obligation remains in the Constitution, there is not a militia man in Massachusetts who may not be compelled, to-morrow, to cut the throat or blow out the brains of a fellow-citizen, at the will of the basest southern slaveholder. My fellow-citizens, believe me—the time has come for the people of Massachusetts to look upon this slave clause no longer in the ever-shifting, ever-dubious, ever-suspicious light of party spirit, but under the influence of an enlightened patriotism, watchful of the signs of the times and anxious concerning their duties to themselves and their posterity.

But I hear some timid brother exclaim, "Why, this is, in effect, a dissolution of the Union. Did not the southern slaveholder tell us, before the adoption of the Constitution, that without the fugitive slave clause they would not come into the Union, and have they not told us, every day since its adoption, that whenever that clause is obliterated they will go out of it?" And do you believe them any the more for this reiterated threat and eternal outcry? Does not the nature of things speak a louder language than that of these threateners? Are the slaveholders fools or madmen? They go out of this Union for the purpose of maintaining the subjection of their slaves? Why, the arm of the Union is the very sinew of that subjection! It is the slaveholder's main strength. Its continuance is his forlorn hope.

But I go farther, fellow-citizens. I believe that, in the nature of things, by the law of God and the laws of man, that clause is at this moment abrogated so far as respects moral obligation. There is a principle of common law which, if not strictly applicable, is sufficiently analogous to the obligations resulting from that clause. It is *cessante ratione cessat et ipsa lex.*

Now, what was the understanding and what was the state of things under which that contract was made?

The Free States agreed, in 1789, to be field-drivers and pound-keepers for the black cattle of the slaveholding States, within the limits and according to the fences of the old United States. Between that year and this, Anno Domini 1854, those slaveholders have broken down the old boundaries, and opened new fields of an unknown and indefinite extent. They have multiplied their black cattle by millions; and are every day increasing their numbers, and extending their cattle field into the wilderness. Under these circumstances, are we bound to be their field-drivers and pound-keepers any longer? Answer me, people of Massachusetts. Are you the sons of the men of 1776? or do you "lack gall to make oppression bitter?"

I would willingly dwell upon this topic and others which are in my mind, but I have already occupied more than my proportion of this debate.

I have pointed out your burden. I have shown you that it is insupportable.

I shall be asked, how shall we get rid of it?

I answer it is not for a private individual to point the path which a State is to pursue to cast off an insupportable burden—it belongs to the constituted authorities of that State. But this I will say, that if the people of Massachusetts adopt, in the spirit of their fathers, as one man, solemnly, the resolve that they will no longer submit to this burden, and will call upon the Free States to concur in and carry into effect this resolution, the burden will be cast off, the fugitive slave clause obliterated, not only without the dissolution, but with a newly acquired strength to the Union.

Mr. QUINCY, as he sat down, was greeted with three tremendous cheers!

IMPORTANT SLAVE CASE IN OHIO.

IN Clermont County, on the 9th inst., a case was tried before Judge Norris, the regular Democratic candidate for the Supreme Bench, involving the right a slave acquires by being sent by his master into a free State. John Anderson, the master, lived on a plantation on the river, opposite New Richmond, in Clermont County. Henry Poindexter, his slave, entered into a contract with him, for the purchase of himself at the price of four hundred dollars. For the payment of this sum two notes of $200 each were given by Poindexter; the notes were endorsed by J. C. Gowdy and Francis Donaldson, of New Richmond. When the notes fell due, for some reason not stated, they were not paid, and suit was brought by Anderson against two of the defendants, Francis Donaldson and J. C. Gowdy—who are men of some wealth—to recover.

The pleas were, 1st, Nonassumpsit.

2d. That the sole consideration of the note was, that Anderson should execute a deed of emancipation to Poindexter, one of the defendants, and that had not been done.

3d. That at divers times, before the notes were given, Anderson had permitted Poindexter to come into Ohio, whereby he became a free man.

In evidence the plaintiff produced the notes and rested.

The defendant proved that plaintiff had admitted that before the notes were given, he had sent Poindexter, the slave, to Richmond, Ohio, for a doctor, and at other times to the store there for groceries and dry goods for his (Anderson's) family.

Perry J. Dunham, for the plaintiff, read several cases from the Kentucky and Missouri reports, in which the courts of those States had decided that though the master may voluntarily bring or send his slave into a free State, yet, if he brings the servant back again into a slave State, the slave is not emancipated, but remains a slave in all respects, the same as before he went into a free State.

Mr. Jolliffe, of Cincinnati, for the defendants, argued, first, that by Anderson's permitting the slave to come into Ohio, he (Poindexter) became a free man. And this, under the 2d section of the State Constitution of 1802, which controls such cases.

The section, as far as it relates thereto, is as follows:

"Sec. 1, There shall neither be slavery or involuntary servitude in this State, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted."

Mr. J. contended that this clause extended over the whole State of Ohio; that there was but one exception in the article—"punishment of crime"—and that this exception confirmed the rule. Another exception was found—the federal constitution—where persons owing service or labour in one State, escaping into the other, shall be delivered up; but that was altogether out of this case, as it was not pretended that Poindexter was a fugitive from slavery.

William Howard, Esq., of Batavia, followed Mr. Jolliffe for the defence. He contended that as the contract was made in Kentucky, where the courts have decided that the master is not bound by any contract he may make with his slave, this contract was not binding upon the master, and therefore not upon the defendant—it was void for want of mutuality.

As soon as the argument was concluded, the Court—Judge Norris presiding—without the delay of a moment, and the case having been submitted to him without the intervention of a jury, decided that as Poindexter had come into Ohio by the consent of his master, before the execution of the notes, the slave became free—free the first moment he set his foot upon the soil of Ohio. If not free the moment his foot touched our soil, how long must he remain here to acquire the freedom guarantied by the Constitution?

DECISION OF THE COURT.—*The slave declared free, and the contract void.*

THE MANCHESTER ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

[WE have before us the proceedings of the ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE, held at Manchester, England, on the First of August. It is impossible for us to publish the full report, but we begin our extracts therefrom with the speech made on the occasion by PARKER PILLSBURY.—EDS.]

SPEECH OF PARKER PILLSBURY.

Mr. PARKER PILLSBURY, of America, was the next speaker. He said: It is a long while since I stood before a public meeting like this, to speak on behalf of the cause of human freedom, and the reason is, perhaps, in the fact just now referred to by my friend, Mr. Thompson, that for the last dozen and more years of my life I have been engaged in one act of anti-slavery effort, and I stand before you somewhat broken, and I fear that I may make but sad work of attempting to address this audience; and I should have wished that the gentleman last on the platform might have occupied more of your time, for he has been, as he has told us, most effectively an eye-witness of the abominations that are done in my native land. I could have even wished, Mr. Chairman, that you yourself had occupied at least a full hour; for it seems to me you, sir, were uttering the language that our nation most needs to hear—the language of stern and yet friendly and faithful rebuke. I was very much interested in the remark of my excellent friend, Mr. Bishop, and I am exceedingly happy to stand here, bearing testimony to his fidelity in the cause of freedom. He is one of very few who have been to our country and who have brought home a true report. I have seen many Englishmen, and English ladies also; some of them of great eminence, literary men and literary women. We have had there your poets and your orators. We have had your dancers and your queens of song. We have had there your Father Mathews and your John Mitchels (derisive laughter)—have had every variety there, sir; and I am sorry to say, that with the exception of my friend Mr. Bishop, and our eloquent friend who stands at my left, almost invariably the testimony they have brought back has either been wholly false, or so utterly indifferent and insipid as to have produced no effect whatever on the public mind. There are other exceptions; I need not name them. One of them furnishes an eminently interesting and beautiful letter, which was read to us this morning. I refer to Miss Martineau, of Ambleside (hear, hear); whose firm and stern rebuke of slavery while there kindled a hatred against her on the part of the slaveholders, and their abettors in our country, which has burned with no diminished ardour from that day to the present; and I am very glad that she lives again to rebuke our nation. I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, there are many there who, in the reading of that letter, will remember her rebukes administered so many years ago. The truth is, in regard to the slave system of America, that it is very much like a fable of the past—that race of monsters, the Gorgons, the terrible sisterhood who turned whomsoever they looked upon to stone. Almost every English and every other foreign traveller, as soon as he comes within the lightning gaze and flash of that monstrous eye, seems to petrify and turn to stone; and it is only the few exceptions to which I have referred that have escaped. I was particularly interested in Mr. Bishop's remarks, and I was wishing, while he was speaking, that every bishop in England (cheers)—may go to our country, only that I should fear the effect of that monster's eye upon them. Some attempt was made to sketch the horrors of slavery, and of the slave trade; the examinations of slaves were referred to; the sale of slaves by auction was spoken of. I was reminded, whilst listening to the remarks upon the manner in which slaves are often advertised in our country for sale, of which it might be interesting to the audience to speak further and present specimens of that kind of advertisements, with which our cities are papered very liberally in the South. Here is one of them just as it was printed, and just as thousands of them were put up in one of the cities of our country: "Valuable sugar plantation, slaves, &c., to be sold, by J. A. Beard, Thursday, Jan. 20th, 1853, at twelve o'clock, will be sold by auction, at the Rotunda of the St. Louis Exchange, New Orleans, all that well-known and delightfully-situated sugar plantation." And then it is described—"with fifty very choice negroes, having in the number 36 full working hands; also 32 mules, several horses and other cattle." Then the advertisement proceeds to describe, first the plantation, then the stock, "32 mules and horses, five pairs of oxen, eight cows and their calves, with all the carts, ploughs, axes, hoes, &c., and other appurtenances belonging to the plantation," and then follows a list of the slaves, in three columns, Joseph, a stable boy, 14; and so they go on. Then comes the children; first, Paul, 8 years; then Gilbert, 10 years; then Pierre, 11-2 fear; and then Prosper, an infant; and then the girls come, Grace, 6 years; Felicia, 4 years; Celestine, 2 1-2 years, and so on. Here is another advertisement, quite of a similar kind, "Sale of 48 negroes, accustomed to the culture of river swamp rice. Will be sold in families, on Wednesday, the 26th instant." It is stated that they will be sold in families because the general understanding is that the sale will be without regard to family, and so when they are to be sold in families it is so specified in the advertisement; and here is another long list of names, which I will not stop to read. I have here an advertisement of a different character. In the city of New Orleans, a year ago last Feb., there was a scene which is alluded to in this advertisement, copies of thousands of which were posted about the city of New Orleans. I also saw the advertisement in all the New Orleans papers. It is headed, "A raffle.—Mr. Joseph Jennings respectfully informs his friends that at the request of his acquaintances, he has been induced to purchase from Mr. Osborne, of Missouri, the celebrated dark bay horse Star, aged five years, a capital trotter, warranted safe; also a new light trotting buggy and harness; also the dark, stout mulatto girl, Sarah, aged about 20 years, general house servant, valued at"—Mr. Chairman, how much do you suppose a young girl is valued at of twenty years of age in our country? "The stout mulatto girl, Sarah, valued

make it nearly impossible for any but slaveholders and slave-propagandists to settle there. The thing has never been heard of before even in our country; but we have sublimated our system of iniquity till now we are going to require not only an oath of allegiance to the constitution, but in this new territory we are going to require that every one who becomes a legal voter there shall swear to support not only the constitution, but the provision in this Nebraska Territorial Bill which makes support of slavery obligatory on every one who shall enter there. What is more interesting still, and develops, as I think, more forcibly the character of American slaveholders and their friends, that provision was smuggled through Congress, and the enemies of the Nebraska bill did not know the extent of the rascality of this Nebraska measure until after the whole thing was done. Then it came out that this clause, which the mover of the bill declared should be stricken out, had not been stricken out, and was a part of the bill in full force. The resolution speaks of the manifest intention to take speedy possession of the Island of Cuba—peaceably if they can, but forcibly if they must; and our government is taking advantage of your just now being very busy with your eastern affairs, to prosecute and to consummate this measure. The third specification is the payment of ten million dollars to Mexico, under the new treaty made with that country, for another immense territory, to be converted to the purposes of slavery; also to the recent rigorous enforcement of the cruel and unrighteous fugitive slave law at Boston. I wish barely to allude to the fugitive slave law. We had that bill enacted in 1850, for the recovery professedly of fugitive slaves; but I stand here to affirm that is not the object for which that bill was passed. You might think, indeed, that we were bad enough without making it a business to hunt slaves and return them to the horrors of their prisons, and to the tortures of the whipping-post and the branding-iron. That were bad enough; but that, sir, is not the object for which the bill was passed. It does all that; it makes Christianity a crime—if Christianity be to feed the hungry and clothe the naked, to take the stranger in and shelter and protect him, for it makes that a penal offence in our country, and this very moment my family, for aught I know, may be stripped of what little they have to call their own, for the crime of giving shelter to a fugitive slave; for I think, sir, that my door, whether I am at home or abroad, is ever open to the panting fugitive (cheers). They may pass their fugitive slave bills, and attempt to close my door against the flying bondman, but when that door is closed—and though my family be small, I speak their sentiments and my own too—when we do close that door, humble though the shelter be, let God close the door of his compassion against us. And yet, sir, we are required to do it by the Fugitive Slave Bill of our country, and I could tell you of numerous persons who have been robbed and reduced to beggary for doing the very deed for which the Son of God promised salvation to those who shall do it. "I was a stranger and ye took me in; therefore, come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." The statute, sir, of our country in reference to the fugitive slaves, should I or mine open our door in order to secrete the flying bondman—the statute, in the first place, seizes us, drags us before the magistrate, fines us 1,000 dollars to the government for each slave we have sheltered, then makes us liable for 1,000 dollars to the slave claimant for each slave he loses through our agency, and then sends us to prison six months for each slave we may thus have aided to escape; two thousand dollars and imprisonment of six months for the crime, in our country, for taking a stranger in. Yonder is my friend William Wells Brown, whom so many of you know, and know so well, and I trust love him, just now returning to his native country: what requires that the philanthropists of Great Britain should go to his master and make a bargain with him, and pay him several hundred dollars before he can set his foot on the soil of his native country? Unless that were done, let him land in Boston; let his master pursue him there—as, depend upon it, he would—and let any of his friends shelter and save him from the tyrant's grasp, it shall, as I have said, subject them to fines in two thousand dollars and imprisonment for six months. He is safe here, and I almost wish he would keep here. I have no faith in his free papers. Let him get free papers. I tell you, if that monster man, whom he will permit me to say is very nearly related to him, can get his iron hand upon him, in spite of his free papers he will make him a victim and an example for the remainder of his days. Since I have been speaking of the way this law works upon those who undertake to evade or violate it, I will mention a single instance: A friend of mine—and he is everybody's friend who knows him—aided in the escape of fifteen persons from slavery, at one time; they were, however, all free, for the claimant could not establish his right of ownership, and the court set them at liberty, so that no law was violated by my friend. But he knew they were in danger still, though at liberty, and he had his carriages in readiness and immediately conveyed them off to a place of safety. As soon as they were gone, the claimant made out by some means, procuring other testimony before the commissioner, that the slaves were his. But the slaves were then gone, and he seized the old man (for he was seventy years of age), under the fugitive slave law, for aiding in their escape. He dragged him before the courts of the United States; he hunted him with persecution and prosecution until he obtained a verdict; and at seventy years of age they sold the old man's bed, and turned him out to beggary. His fines and costs amounted to $8,000; his property amounted to $5,500. They reduced him to beggary—they took what he had; and the sheriff said to him, after the action, "Well, now, Garrett, we have made you a beggar in your old age, and I think you had better learn to mind your own business, and let other people alone." "Yes," said Thomas Garrett, "in my old age ye have made a beggar of me, but, old as I am, I have not lived altogether in vain, for I have the names of 1,400 slaves that I have aided to escape" (loud cheers). "And," said he, "if thee knows of any poor fugitive that wants a friend to-night, send him to old Thomas Garrett" (cheers). That, Mr. Chairman, is the way the thing is done, and that is what it costs. I could multiply instances of this kind; and if you will allow me, I will introduce one other. I know very well another man who violated no law, although I will do him the credit and pay him the compliment that he meant to violate it; but he did not violate any law in aiding a mother and her four children to escape—they got away. He was arrested; they reduced him to beggary. His property was worth $4,000, and it was sold; but the slaves made their escape: so far so good. Now, the object I have in view in mentioning this is this: that mother was half negro only—was a mulatto woman—her four children were four girls, and you may judge what their complexion probably was, and for what purpose, too, they were wanted particularly; and you may also judge of the character of American morality, when I tell you this—the owner of these five slaves was an old, grey-headed man; the witness by whose testimony he proved these slaves to be his was his own son, and that son swore that the mother belonged to his (the son's) father, and that her four children were his (the son's)—(sensation), and on testimony such as that the claim was established, and a good and humane man was reduced to beggary. Mr. Chairman, it is no pleasure to me to stand here and utter sentiments like these of my native land. I think that I could love that country, if she would only present herself to me in a lovable aspect; I love her hills and her valleys, her boundless resources of wealth, and of intelligence, and of culture; why, it is the favoured spot of all the world, but we have to say as Bishop Heber said of another locality,

> "What though the spicy breezes
> Blow soft o'er Ceylon's isle,
> Though every prospect pleases,
> When only man is vile."

Nothing else, Mr. Chairman. It is a favoured spot, but for this horrible institution, and its effects on the character of the people, which you are able to see to some extent by the developments which we are making from this platform this afternoon. Mr. Chairman, I am going to make but one more allusion, and then shall give place to my friend Brown, or some others, who may be ready to succeed me. You have alluded yourself to the character of American religion. I think you have truly, very truly, said that it is the religion itself which must be responsible for any degree or amount of unbelief or infidelity that exists there (hear). I know of no better way to carry to your minds an idea of what our religion is than by seizing upon the doings of the most important ecclesiastical body in America, supported by more talent and wealth, more piety of the American type than any other institution, perhaps almost all other institutions, in the land—I mean the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. I allude to it because it has often been memorialized on the subject of slavery; has always refused to bear a testimony against it. But I will tell you, Mr. Chairman, what it has never refused to do—it has never refused to take the price of slaves sold in human shambles—examined, as our friend Mr. Bishop so graphically describes the scene; it has never refused to take the price of slaves thus bought and sold to circulate the Bible, and to sustain missionaries among the heathen (shame). It has never refused this; and its treasury to-day is replenished with money which the crucifiers of the Son of God would have disdained to put into the treasury of the Lord, because it was the price of blood (cheers). Among the Choctaw and Cherokee Indians, the aborigines of our own country (for we have not quite butchered all the Indians, Mr. Chairman; we have most of them)—but among the remnants, we have sent missionaries—as we have in all parts of what is called the heathen world; and two years ago, at the anniversary of that great association, a report was made in reference to the success that had attended missionary effort among those Indian tribes. From that report I will read you a few sentences. It was made by the Prudential Committee, and sanctioned by the Board itself. "A large number of Choctaws are followers of the Lord Jesus Christ; one-eighth of the whole tribe belonging to the visible church. No other cluster of churches in the world, the committee believe, can show such a table of statistics for the last twelve years. Choctaw Christians pray, too, very much for the heathen. Education is highly prized by them. They have a written constitution, a good government, a declaration of rights which embodies the liberty of the press, trial by jury, the rights of conscience, proper safeguards of person and property, the equality of all Christian denominations, and almost every great principle of civil and religious freedom. The Cherokees, like other Indians, are hospitable to a proverb, and it would seem that they only need to be taught the more excellent way, to open their hearts to all the world." That would be, I think, sir, quite an improvement upon the American religion. And now, sir, the missionaries have been labouring there for quite a number of years. The Indians have become civilized, have a government of their own. They have, however, a religion not their own; for until they learned American Christianity they did not commit the abominations which I will now read a description of. In the Cherokee nation is this law: "Be it enacted by the national council, that from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons whatever to teach any negro or negroes, not of Cherokee blood, or any slave belonging to any citizen or citizens of the nation to read or write." That is one of the fruits of American Christianity. As the stream never rises higher than the fountain, why should it not be so? for the stars and stripes float over three and a half millions of slaves nearly to-day. And if I should attempt to teach one of them to read or write, I should commit a crime which, in one of the States, in the third instance, would subject me to the penalty of death. The Cherokee converts have enacted the same law, under the influence of the same religion. "Be it enacted, that from and after the passage of this act, if any citizen of the United States, acting as a missionary or a preacher, whatever his occupation, is found to take an active part in favouring the principles and notions of the most fatal and destructive doctrines of Abolitionism, he shall be compelled to leave the nation, and forever to stay out of it." Now, Mr. Chairman, the next clause of the statute explains that, "Be it further enacted, that teaching slaves how to read, to write, or to sing in meeting-houses, or schools, or any place, without the consent of the owner, or allowing him to sit at table with him, shall be sufficient ground to convict persons so doing of favouring the principles and doctrines of Abolitionism." The speaker here quoted further from the statutes and spoke eloquently against the doctrines mixed up with American Christianity. He stated that it was not at all uncommon for churches to have slaves belonging to them who are hired out to the highest bidder, for a year together, and the proceeds go to support the minister or keep up the church. The theological seminary of South Carolina and Georgia, a few years since, advertised a number of slaves for sale. Mr. Pillsbury spoke strongly about the reproach cast upon the Abolitionists in America by the churches, who treat them as infidels, and concluded amidst loud applause.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONFERENCE.

COMMEMORATION OF WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

Resolved, That, on this the morning of the 1st of August, 1854, the twentieth anniversary of the abolition, by act of Parliament, of slavery throughout the British colonies, the friends of human freedom, here assembled in Conference, would solemnly record their devout thankfulness and fervent joy; and would exultingly commemorate the national achievement of a measure which, without violence, without discord, and without confusion, at once and forever terminated a cruel and impious system, that for centuries previously had been permitted to blight the fairest territories, to degrade and brutalize the unoffending subjects, and to deform and sully the character of this kingdom.

Resolved, That while not unwilling to admit the present existence of many evils, originated in the base dominion and pernicious influence of slavery, and which can only be eradicated by the slow processes of time and culture, this Conference would nevertheless declare their conviction that the results of emancipation have been, generally, of the most gratifying and satisfactory kind, and such as have fully realized every just and reasonable expectation. That, whatever may have been the temporary economical difficulties and commercial embarrassments connected with the measure of abolition, they are comparatively insignificant and of no account in the presence of the glorious historical fact that eight hundred thousand human beings, who, twenty years ago, were wretched bondmen and bondwomen, are now transformed from "chattels personal" into free subjects of a non-slaveholding monarchy, and are the parents, grand-parents and progenitors of a race redeemed from the black heritage of slavery, through the religion and humanity of the people of the British isles, acting on the Divine doctrine that "man can hold no property in man."

Resolved, That this great event and its consequences should encourage the hopes and stimulate the exertions of the friends of freedom throughout the world, whom we would invite to mingle their rejoicings with ours, that from the catalogue of the inconsistencies, the follies and the crimes of Britain has been effaced the foulest and most flagrant of them all, that of negro slavery.

CHARACTER OF SLAVERY.

Resolved, That in the deliberate judgment of this Conference, the personal enslavement, no matter by what pretended title, of any portion of the human family, in any part of the world, is a daring violation of the law of God, a crime against natural justice, and a felonious outrage upon the unalienable and indestructible rights of the children of the Divine and Common Parent of mankind: That it is, therefore, the plain and imperative duty—a duty inculcated alike by instinct, conscience, reason and revelation—of every enlightened and just-minded person, everywhere, to employ all suitable, moral and pacific instrumentalities for the immediate, total and universal abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

Resolved, That this Conference earnestly desires to cherish and exhibit the most friendly and fraternal dispositions towards all portions of the people of the United States, and also the warmest aspirations for their continued welfare and prosperity, yet cannot contemplate without sentiments of mingled sorrow and reprobation the revolting spectacle of the colossal institution of slavery, which, since the period of their independence, they have permitted to grow up in their midst, and to become national—an institution which they have recognised by the compromises of the constitution, and enforced by legislative acts under its provisions; which has been sustained and extended by the uniform action of the federal government; which is vindicated and vitally strengthened by the majority of the professed ministers of Christ; and which hitherto has been sanctioned and supported by the voice of public opinion—an institution which has added more than three millions to the slave population of the Union since the declaration of independence, and has proportionably augmented the political power of the slaveholders; which has perpetuated the domestic and inter-state slave trade, and which has been permitted to usurp an authority avowedly superior to the law of God, subversive of the dictates of humanity and religion in the free States, and destructive of the sanctity and freedom of the soil of America, throughout the entire length and breadth of the republic.

That the history of the United States of America furnishes little ground of hope for the spread and triumph of true republican principles—beginning as they did by declaring it *a self-evident truth* that "all men are created equal," while they set up their government on the prostrated rights and liberties of half a million of slaves; which number they have since multiplied almost seven fold; until to-day they have nearly three and a half millions of men, women and children held in the most brutal and hopeless bondage—robbed of manhood, of marriage, civil rights, social joys, education, religious culture, and everything that sweetens life, or makes it other than a bitter curse.

That the government of the United States has, within the past year, given additional and alarming evidence of its settled determination to make the extension and perpetuation of slavery one of its most engrossing objects. Firstly, by the passage of the Nebraska bill, which gives up another half million of square miles to be carved into slave States, and by so shaping its conditions of citizenship, as to make it nearly impossible for any but slaveholders and slavery propagators to settle there. Secondly, its manifest intention to take speedy possession of Cuba—peaceably if it can, forcibly if it must. Thirdly, by the payment of ten millions of dollars to Mexico, under the new treaty with that country, for another immense territory to be hereafter converted into slave States. Fourthly, by the recent rigorous enforcement of the unrighteous fugitive slave law, in Boston, amid the loaded cannon and bristling bayonets of 2,000 heavily-armed military and police. And fifthly, by a governmental survey of the whole vast country on the Amazon river and its tributaries, and its official report of that survey, which declares it immense in extent, almost unparalleled in resources, and every way particularly and admirably adapted to the existence of slavery, and the profitable employment of slaves.

Whereas, there are unequivocal indications of a settled purpose in the minds of the slave-breeders and negro-traders of the United States—veiling their designs under false and specious pretences—to possess themselves, either by diplomatic negotiation and purchase, by open and declared war, or by lawless and piratical invasion, of the Island of Cuba, in the Gulf of Mexico, now a dependency of Spain:

And whereas, this purpose has been formed, and is still prosecuted, with a view, mainly, to the opening of a vast and immensely profitable market for the sale of that human stock which it is the chief and most lucrative business of Virginia, and five other of the States of America, to propagate, and from which those States already realize a revenue of not less than twenty millions of dollars annually:

And whereas, there are convincing evidences of a ready disposition on the part of the federal executive government, and of the pro-slavery politicians of the United States, for special political reasons and objects of their own, to favour this project of the breeders and barterers of slaves:

And whereas, the acquisition of Cuba by the United States, though it might lead to a temporary suspension of the African slave trade, would inevitably be followed by an immediate opening and establishment of an extensive American slave trade between the slave-breeding States of the continent and the newly-acquired island territory:

And whereas, this trade, when once established, would be found to be infinitely more difficult of suppression than that which is now carried on between Cuba and Africa, and would be almost certain to lead, at no distant day, to the revival of the African slave trade itself:

And whereas, a trade between the slave-breeding States of the continent and Cuba would be essentially identical with a foreign slave trade; would indefinitely retard the emancipation of the slaves of the United States; would be fraught with all conceivable horrors and misery to the enslaved millions of America, and their hapless posterity; and would encourage a frightful immolation of human victims on the wealth-producing sugar lands of Cuba:

And whereas, such an event as the seizure and annexation of Cuba by the United States would be a most disastrous, if not fatal, blow to the advancing cause of abolition, and a more humiliating and portentous concession than any hitherto made to the usurping and insatiable spirit of the slave power:

And whereas, the possession of Cuba by the slave power of the United States, with their declared and well-known views of future aggrandizement and "manifest destiny," would most seriously menace the peace, security and freedom of the free coloured communities of the whole of the West India Islands, including nearly a million of the enfranchised or free-born subjects of the British government, whose liberty has been purchased by the labours and sacrifices of British philanthropy:

Resolved, That, from a consideration of these facts, and others not set forth, connected with commercial and material interests of the greatest magnitude and importance, it is the deliberate conviction of this Conference that it is the duty of the government and the people of this country, and the duty of all other nations allied to the West Indies by colonial rights and interests, or who may be concerned for the cause of emancipation, and the general welfare and freedom of the coloured races, promptly and earnestly to protest against the meditated and unprovoked aggressions of the slave power of the United States, and their abettors, upon the island of Cuba; and to employ every proper and legitimate means to avert the calamitous consequences to the cause of humanity and freedom, which would follow from that island becoming the prey of an ambitious and sordid confederacy of American slave-breeders.

Resolved, That, in the judgment of this Conference, the nefarious designs of the slave power of the United States would be most effectually frustrated by the immediate and entire abolition by the Spanish authorities of slavery throughout the island of Cuba, and the establishment, by wise and Christian laws, of the black population in the enjoyment of that liberty and those civil rights, the possession of which by the people at large has ever been the best and surest guarantee of the independence, security and happiness of any country.

THE AMERICAN CHURCH AND THE AMERICAN ABOLITIONISTS.

Whereas, it is known to the Conference that the great majority of the churches of America are connected with the system of slavery, either by the act of slaveholding or by religious fellowship with slaveholders, and that these same churches do further sanction and support the system, through the conduct of their pastors, reviewers, and editors, who either openly justify slavery by appeals to the Bible or apologize for it on political grounds:

Resolved, That this meeting deems such a course a perversion of that Holy Book, a dishonour to God, an injury to the spread of pure and undefiled religion, and a flagrant wrong to the slave, and calls upon every denomination in this country to use all appropriate means to induce the American churches to repent of this their sin; to stand no longer as the greatest obstacle in the way of the slave's emancipation, but "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to free the oppressed, and to break asunder every yoke," and thus obey the command and win the blessing of Heaven.

Whereas, 600,000 slaves are the property of persons in membership with the various professedly Christian churches of the United States, their masters including bishops, pastors, professors in colleges, elders, deacons, and other church officers; and whereas, the non-slaveholding churches of America are in constant and entire fellowship with the slaveholding churches of the South; and whereas, the great majority of the ministers and members of the northern churches are either the apologists of slavery or passive spectators of its iniquities:

Resolved, That such ministers, church officers, and members, appear to this Conference to be acting wholly unworthy of the stations which they fill, and of the profession they make, and to deserve the censure and rebuke of all the lovers of justice and humanity, but especially of all consistent and sincere friends of the Christian religion.

Resolved, That this Conference, while it deems it its duty to reprobate with all fidelity the inconsistent and criminal conduct of those professing Christians in the United States who practice slavery, or who apologize for it, would, at the same time, joyfully recognise the existence of religious bodies and individual churches which exclude slaveholders from their communion, and who exert their religious influence in favour of the anti-slavery cause, and would assure such religious societies and churches that their conduct has excited the highest respect and admiration, and is regarded as entitled to the warmest sympathy of every true Christian, and deserving the imitation of all the churches of America.

That this Conference would tender their tribute of admiration and praise to the eminent men in the United States Congress who have so eloquently lifted up their voices in the capitol of their country in opposition to the maxims and designs of the pro-slavery party, and would assure them, that though for the present their efforts have been unsuccessful to arrest the progress of the slave power, the names and deeds of Smith, Sumner, Giddings, Hale, Chase, and their noble coadjutors, will be honoured by all British philanthropists and lovers of impartial liberty; and would earnestly exhort them to renewed exertions, and to undaunted perseverance in their honourable and truly republican career, sustained by the conviction that the cause they plead will ultimately triumph, and that a repentant, regenerated nation will cherish their names amongst the truest of America's patriots.

Whereas, the American Anti-Slavery Society, which, since its establishment in 1833, has pursued, with inflexible fidelity, incorruptible integrity, and single-minded purpose, the great object of its formation—the immediate and unconditional abolition of slavery—which has proved by its deeds that its reliance for success is wholly in God and the omnipotence of his truth, and have been wrought in the face of principalities and powers, of afflictions, necessities, distresses, imprisonment, stripes, tumults, perils in the city, and perils amongst false brethren—against a thoroughly corrupt and overwhelming public sentiment, and in behalf of millions who are peeled, meted out, and trodden under foot; who have no recompense to offer, and to espouse whose hated cause exposes the advocates to reproach, persecution and martyrdom—therefore,

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Conference, the American Anti-Slavery Society is preeminently entitled to the confidence and support of all who seek, upon disinterested and uncompromising principles, the abolition of slavery in the United States; and would extend its warmest welcome to its most worthy representative, Mr. Parker Pillsbury, the long tried and unfaltering champion of the cause of the enslaved children of America.

DUTIES AND MEASURES OF BRITISH ABOLITIONISTS.

That in consequence of the frequent and constant intercourse which this nation maintains with the United States of America, it is the imperative duty of Englishmen above all other nations to use all their influence against American slavery, and, by holding public meetings, by the publication and circulation of anti-slavery tracts, by insertion of articles in newspapers, and all other feasible methods, to express their earnest sympathy with the Abolitionists of America, their hatred of slaveholding, and their faithful rebukes against its upholders and apologists.

Whereas, by the laws of South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, all coloured men, free-born or otherwise, British subjects are subject to imprisonment on landing in their ports, and, upon their departure from the ports, if they are unable to pay the jail fees, to sale into hopeless bondage; and whereas this outrage upon British liberty has frequently been brought before the notice of Her Majesty's government without effect; and whereas Her Majesty's ministers seem to be unwilling to take the necessary steps for removing this evil, but show their sympathy with slaveholders to appoint Sir J. Young, the only man in England who is known to hold slaves, to a high post of trust in the administration; resolved—that this Conference recommends all persons to use all their influence, both by addresses to Her Majesty and petitions to Parliament, to save our fellow-subjects from the sad fate of slavery.

That this Conference, being deeply impressed with the necessity of enlightened and united action on the part of all persons opposed to slavery, views with satisfaction the proposal to hold a Conference in London during the month of October or November next, and being desirous of rendering all assistance in its power to that Conference, hereby appoints the Rev. J. R. Beard, D.D., G. W. Conder, W. Parkes, S. A. Steinthal, F. Bishop, Professor Nichol, George Thompson, F. W. Chesson, and Thomas Thomasson, delegates, to represent its views at that Conference.

COTTON CULTURE IN BRITISH INDIA.

Whereas, it is established by the most abundant and authoritative evidence, that the people and the soil of British India are capable of producing the cotton of commerce to any extent which the capital and industry of England may require, for the constant and profitable employment of the manufacturing population:

And whereas, it is notorious that England, although able to command the vast and exhaustless resources of India, is dependent almost entirely for her supply of cotton wool upon the United States of America, where that commodity is the product of slave labour:

And whereas, and as a consequence from this condition of dependence, the peace and prosperity of this country are at all times exposed to interruption and danger, from the uncontrollable vicissitudes of the seasons, the possible disturbance of the amicable relations between the two nations, and the servile revolt of a cruelly oppressed slave population:

And whereas, the free agricultural population of India would be the customers of this country, in the exact measure that they would, if permitted, become the producers of commodities for the supply of the wants of England, and are only rendered incapable of becoming the nation's producers and customers, and of competing with the labour of slave States, by reason of the burthens imposed upon their soil and industry, and the neglect, by their rulers, of the necessary works of internal improvement:

Therefore, resolved, That it is the duty and the interest of the people of the United Kingdom, and especially of the people of this, the great cotton district of England, for the sake of this country, of India and of the enslaved throughout the world, to require from the legislatures of England and of India, the removal of all imposts which depress the agricultural energies of the native population of India, and a liberal application of the local revenues in aid of the development of the riches of the soil; and also the institution of a strict and impartial inquiry, in India, into the condition of the natives, and into the conduct and the acts, arising out of the peculiar government ruling over them, which affect their well-being and retard their prosperity.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 26, 1854.

LIGHT FROM A DARK QUARTER.

THERE are distributed among the thirty-one States that form the American nation some hundred tribunals, of different grades and various powers, whose function it is to put a legal finality to disputes that arise among the people as to matters of personal rights. These tribunals are under the control of men of marked ability, educated, as we Americans consider educated, and banded together, by an *esprit du corps* and a common faith in certain antiquated theories, into about the only distinct *order* that exists in our democratized society. In popular respect, they stand in the very front of the social rank. In comparison with them, Congresses and Legislatures are mere *canaille*. To these latter assemblages resort farmers, mechanics, unlettered men, or mere snob politicians, and serve well enough to rough out the raw material of law. But to the Courts only men eminent in mental acumen and legal erudition are admitted, to finish and perfect the complex fabric of law, and apply it to the details of men's business, or the limitation of their rights. Legislatures are of brief tenure; their decrees are not the oracles of absolute science, but the impulsive behests of a popular will, to which they are mere deputies and servants; and no one of them feels for a moment obliged to preserve a system or a measure established by its predecessor. Courts, enjoying a term of office that has been able to resist all the theories of democracy, affect to speak only the principles of an exact science, and are so tenacious of precedents that the chief routine of judicial investigation is the marshalling of the decisions of other and earlier Courts. What *Judge Ruffin* held ten years ago, in North Carolina, is absolute law to *Judge Gruffin*, having a similar matter in hand to-day in New Jersey. Legislatures affect a local independence, a State pride. Courts know no East, no West, no North, no South, gathering oracles of wisdom from all the Reports, deferring to all, accommodating themselves to all. Legislatures are patriotic, embodying in statutes the local sentiment of constituents. Courts are cosmopolite, qualifying the zeal of homebred opinions with the cold conservatism of the world at large. Legislatures start eagerly in what they intend to be some radical reform, when the wigged heads of the Court interpose, and say: "*Not so fast! Messieurs,*" and what zealous members intended to make law, and what reads to the unlearned like the very fixity of fate, the keen eyes of the Judges, peering into its latent contradictions and absurdity, see very clearly to be no law at all.

This complicated legal machinery moves on from year to year, its furnaces fired up with an immense amount of bank bills, stuffed into them by the government and the litigants with reluctant but unsparing hands, and its gudgeons and wearing surfaces well greased with human brains, accumulating, as its chief result and product, an incredible quantity of written and printed legal litter. In this heap, amid the chaff of an antique verbiage, may be found the wheat of the facts and principles elicited in the process. They appear in the rough draft, and in the originals, in copies for this Court and copies for that Court. They are recited in the opinion and in the judgment, and finally go upon formal record for the public to read, if they are eager to do so; while all the papers, in brown paste-board and red tape, lie stored in safes, on shelves, in boxes, heaps on heaps, to authenticate the fairness of the record, and the human race congratulates itself that there is one thing settled for all countries and all ages.

It is curious, however, to note how few of the real interests of human life in general are in any way furthered or involved in these formal proceedings; the great circle of our duties, our labours our sorrows and our delights lying wholly outside of this judicial whirligig. True, there are always persons to stand in the rolè of outraged client, and extortionate creditor, and swift witness and indicted prisoner, to whom, more or less, the proceedings have some of the interest and some of the consequences of reality; but men's relations to God, to country, to family, seldom get disturbed by the proceedings or the judgments of Courts of law.

Sometimes, indeed, Courts get hold of questions involving rights of the people or affecting the great interests of society. Then they step out of the fog, under which their ordinary routine goes on, and the light of history and the warmth of human sympathy falls upon their proceedings. All England stood waiting the result of the trial of the Bishops during the reign of James the Second, involving, as it did, the limitation of the King's prerogative and the rights of the Parliament. For a while the whole theatre of the French Revolution was in the Parliaments of Paris, as was that of our own in Colonial Courts, where James Otis stood arguing against the *Writs of Assistance*. Sometimes, when a great crime overshadows and startles the community, the Courts get honour for themselves and for the State whose laws they apply, as did those of Massachusetts in the resolute and impartial trial and punishment of Doctor Webster, or get disgrace, as those of Kentucky did in the corrupt acquittal of Mat. Ward.

The Supreme Court of the young State of Wisconsin has lately covered itself with honour, and attracted the general observation of our time. It might have been expected that the development of mind among the hardy founders of that new State should be a most healthy and athletic kind, that the trammels of old precedent should set only lightly upon them. A humane public sentiment has generated there, as it will anywhere, a humane legal sentiment. Wisconsin is the first State whose judiciary has had the independence to entertain the question of the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act. True, the question came before the Wisconsin Court only incidentally, and the judgment rendered affirms the liberty of no man or men—does not even relieve from his peril the brave philanthropist accused of a common act of charity. Still, the opinion is explicit, is grounded upon the very vital portions of the odious Act, and is of the greatest importance. It may be regarded as the beginning of a movement towards a more humane interpretation of law in that roost of conservatism and immobility, the American Judiciary. It is to be regretted that the Wisconsin Court did not feel strong enough not only to maintain their sound and impregnable opinion, but to maintain it against all other tribunals, and all other jurisdictions; that they reserved in the decision itself a loop-hole, in which they have since taken refuge against an otherwise inevitable conflict with the Federal Courts: that is, that, though they would unhesitatingly assume superior jurisdiction, as between themselves and a *parvenu* Commissioner, they would courteously refrain from doing so, as between themselves and a constitutionally accredited Court. The law for Mr. Booth is just as good as ever, only his case is in the wrong Court; and where the good law is to be had, the case can by no contrivance be introduced. By this accident, however, the historic and popular consequence of this decision is by no means abated. As lawyers and jurists, Judges Whiton and Smith have not hesitated to place themselves alongside of Judge Hutchinson and Chief Justice Hornblower in a repudiation of the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act—an opinion, which Daniel Webster sneeringly affirmed was held by no lawyer in the land whose professional income was worth forty pounds a year.

Massachusetts might have claimed, by opportunity and by her historic fame, the precedence in this renovation of the judicial sentiment. But Massachusetts suffered Sims and Burns to be clutched in the very sanctuaries of justice, her world-famous Supreme Court stooping under the chains of a press-gang of kidnappers to affirm that all the archives of English law, from *Magna Charta* down to the *Massachusetts Revised Statutes*, contained no article which a learned and humane ingenuity could use asan effectual defence against the enslavement of two poor men of Boston.

The lay reader will not be a little astonished to learn upon how flimsy a legal basis this whole business of slave-catching rests. Wary Judges, invariably of the old fogy class, and, like Sir Leicester Dedlock, under perpetual apprehensions about the flood-gates of society, feeling themselves obliged, for political reasons, to give aid and comfort to Slavery, have carefully avoided mooting the grave question with which the preposterous claim of the slaveholder is complicated. With more than their usual adhesion to authorities, they have given the *go-by* to arguments addressed to their understanding, and fallen back upon the case of *Prigg* as the end of the law for righteousness in that direction. But it appears that the constitutionality of even the old Fugitive Act of '93, in the respect in which it is unconstitutional, was not in the case of Prigg raised by the counsel or settled by the Court. The general affirmation of constitutionality was incidental, unauthorized, and, upon principles well known to Courts, of no validity as a decision. Besides, able treatises and unanswered arguments have convinced all candid minds that the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is a high-handed infraction of the Constitution; and an opinion pronounced in the dark ages, before Garrison startled the nation with his prophets denunciation, might well be revised under the light of a reformed Christianity, and a matured political science.

The uninitiated client, involved in some dispute, applies to his learned counsel and asks him what is the law. If the learned counsel advises falsely, he gets the character of a knave; if he says he does not know what the law is, he gets written down an ass. Now, the truth is, that, beyond certain general principles obvious even to the uncultivated mind, law is an arbitrary matter, its only basis an opinion. The plaintiff lawyer argues you one opinion, not only plausibly, but in good faith, while the defendant lawyer has quite as tenable ground for just the opposite opinion. The Judge, who decides, but adds another opinion. The judgment is only regarded as an opinion, so long as it can be appealed from; and there is neither sanction nor deference appertaining to a final judgment as absolute law. It is only a condition of litigation, that there shall be, at some stage, an opinion, which shall be submitted to as determining a particular controversy.

Now, there is no inspiration about these judicial decisions. Like other opinions, they are affected by education, public sentiment, private interest and personal morals. A learned Judge, whose daily habit it is to clarify the judicial mind with a tumbler of diluted brandy, sold to him at a dram-shop, will be very likely to discover flaws in the Maine Liquor Law, which is based upon the assumption that the transaction, of which he is a participator, is simply a crime. He will look with amazing sharpness to see that none of the old immunities and blood-bought liberties of the dram-shop-keeper are invaded, and, where public sentiment warrants, it shall defy the sagacity of legal philanthropy to frame an anti-liquor law that shall be constitutional. A bench of slaveholders will see nothing illegitimate in catching a negro; they would want their own caught if running at large. The lawyer who owes all his political and judicial eminence to a class of servile and ignoble opinions, in which he persisted to indulge until he attracted attention, will be very likely, when promoted to the bench, to find the judicial mind flavoured with his *Hunkerisms*. Now, when we consider the amount of force with which the complicated machinery of law is constantly going on in this land, some ten thousand attorney-power strong, *impossible*, in connection with any thing it may do, becomes, as it was to Mirabeau, *a perfect beast of a word*—especially if the feat is one requiring sharpness and subtlety of intellect, and likely to pall the unsophisticated, lay mind. "Sir," I say, going to an eminent Philadelphia counsellor, "there is a duplicate of a bond, with a penalty of $10,000, which I have been inveigled into signing and delivering to Gride the sharper. It is without valid consideration, and the whole thing, in point of fact, a cunning cheat. I want you, by hook or by crook, to get me exonerated from its penalty, which I am determined to rot in jail before I will ever consent to pay." If the astute counsellor, after looking it over through his spectacles, turns up a blank face, and says: This bond is carefully drawn; it is under seal; the contract is not an immoral one; and there is no squeak for you to evade its payment, would not such timid counsel be an imputation not only upon the individual lawyer giving it, but upon the well known reputation of all Philadelphia lawyers? Must the good Antonio submit his bosom to Shylock's knife without considering what right, in the eye of the law, he had to shed blood, and what might be the disability of carving too large a slice? (For, with all deference to the erudition that flourished at Padua with learned Bellario, we never could understand why, if the Jew should cut too small a piece at first, he might not cut again, and so get his whole pound of flesh in cutlets.)

Stated at the worst, this is our case: We find ourselves involved in a contract to catch negroes for southern slaveholders. Shall fifty per cent. of all the murderers actually caught and tried escape the gallows through flaws and informalities incident to the most carefully drawn indictments, operating as a city of refuge, or benefit of clergy for that disrespectable class of our fellow-citizens, and shall a whole community of men and women of a grade of honesty above sheep-stealing be implicated in so mean a rascality as slave-catching by the sheer operation of a shambling, evasive, equivocal article of the Constitution, and all lawyerdom be impotent for their relief? If the lawyers cannot relieve them from such a dilemma, we may say as the sailor said, in reference to a kindred agency in the providential management of the world: *There is no need of having lawyers.*

Oh no, America has not sunk into mental imbecility in this very vigour of her youth. Her learned guardians of law can see as far into a millstone as ever they could; but it is still only through the old medium. Only in the kingdom of science gold is considered opaque: in the kingdom of morals it is more transparent than crystals of quartz, and magnifies, too, in proportion to its thickness. Fees tend eminently to sharpen the acuteness of the legal mind. The trouble with that class of people exposed to the rendition *claws* of the Constitution is, that they have no fees. The poor wretches, whose unpretending full length portraits illustrate the pages of Southern periodicals, with the invariable wallet supposed to be of stolen clothing, supported over the shoulder on a stick—the stick they cut when they left—and the prominent heel flying up behind, are in the worst plight possible to consult the most eminent counsellors. They are generally too much in a hurry, can't stop, are obliged to be getting on, and the deliberation of a legal consultation is quite foreign to their arrangements. Their particular friends are in little better situation, and the other party hobbled in the bond have no real desire of escaping from its disreputable obligation.

On the other hand, the slaveholders have regularly retained the profession as a body. There is no promotion in the Senate or on the Bench for the fanatical lawyer, no business even, unless he resides in a very rural district. Ben Curtis and not Wendell Phillips gets a seat upon the Supreme Bench, to which a man who could not read and write would stand a better chance of being appointed than a learned lawyer tinctured with anti-slavery. And as the Supreme Court has the ultimate shaping of all inferior judgments, besides its quite as powerful indirect prestige as a paramount authority, the pro-slavery character of the American Judiciary is most effectually provided for.

Aside from the want of a sufficient interest in the country to furnish the fees, there is no difficulty in getting a good sound opinion that shall avail us when the kidnapper comes to press us into his posse. It so happens that the structure of the universe discloses the fundamental principle of justice as supporting and initiating all. The idea of law is founded in the sanction which natural right has over the human conscience. For the convenience of regulating a thousand minor matters, such as weights and measures, currency, barter, and exchange, and other arrangements convenient to civilized and uncivilized communities, it was long ago found necessary to borrow from the department of pure morality certain great principles which Governments and Courts, statesmen and people, have agreed to

reasonable and Christian men to the cause of abolition. It is highly desirable, however, that our notices of the subject should be as little calculated to wound and offend the Americans as may be consistent with fidelity to the cause.

"In order to promote interest in the question here, it seems desirable to extend the circulation of the best American anti-slavery papers in this country, such as the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, of New York, and the *National Era*, of Washington, besides other papers known to you. Many English people would, probably, take these papers, if the low price were known to them, and the manner of ordering and paying for them were made known and facilitated."

Dr. CAMPBELL writes to Dr. Baird, expressing his "very great satisfaction to learn that an Anti-Slavery Conference is about to be held," and saying that he would have been present had attendance been possible. He calls attention to an article in the *British Banner*, in which "he has given free expression to his good will to the object, and his cordial wishes for the most abundant success to the movement."

Dr. URWICK expresses a hearty interest in the objects of the Conference.

The EARL OF CARLISLE simply regrets that it will be wholly out of his power to be present. So also the BISHOP OF OXFORD.

The MAYOR OF BOLTON thinks the Abolitionists of Great Britain should direct their efforts primarily to the cultivation of cotton in India.

THOMAS DICK closes a very friendly letter in these words:

"I am glad that an anti-slavery conference is to be held in Manchester, as I am of opinion that the subject of slavery has not been so anxiously attended to in this country since the emancipation of British slaves in the West Indies; and that it is now the duty of every philanthropist to prosecute the subject with all the energy which its importance demands, till the cause of truth and righteousness shall everywhere prevail, and human liberty become triumphant all over the lands. I shall be glad to hear the results of your deliberations."

WILSON ARMISTEAD refers to the state of the slavery question in the United States, and counsels union among the friends of the cause in Great Britain, quoting for their encouragement the lines of Garrison,

"Thy cause, O Liberty! can never fail," &c.

JOHN CROPPER calls attention to the cotton-producing resources of British India, and hopes the Conference will ably and fully discuss and investigate the subject.

Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL, of Bridgewater, said he had been requested by Mr. Estlin, of Bristol, to express his cordial sympathy with the inquiries and deliberations on which they were about to enter, and his hopes that they would be attended with success.

Rev. FRANCIS BISHOP then moved, and Rev. S. R. WARD seconded the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

"Resolved, That all persons who believe slave holding a sin, and immediate emancipation to be the right of the slave and the duty of the master, shall be eligible to be members of this Conference, and to take part in its proceedings."

GEORGE THOMPSON then addressed the Conference at considerable length, and with his usual eloquence and power, on the subject of WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION, the history of the struggle that preceded it, the principles illustrated thereby, and the results that followed that glorious measure. We regret that our limits will not, at least for the present, permit us to copy this speech. It was worthy of Mr. Thompson's reputation as one of the great masters of eloquence.

Mr. Thompson concluded by offering a series of resolutions on the subject which had formed the topic of his speech. They were seconded by Rev. W. H. BONNER, of Birmingham, and adopted.

The President being compelled to retire, the chair was taken by Prof. SCOTT, the Vice-President, who thereupon made an animated address.

Mr. RALPH CARR, of Watford, Herts, introduced a resolution setting forth the views of the Conference as to the moral character of slavery and the duty of labouring for its overthrow; which, being seconded by Rev. F. HOWARTH, of Bury, was carried unanimously.

Mr. THOMPSON referred, in commendatory as well as congratulatory terms to the American gentlemen whom he saw on the platform, viz.: Parker Pillsbury, William Wells Brown and Saml. R. Ward, whose experience in the cause and acquaintance with American affairs qualified them to give valuable counsel to the Conference.

The Rev. H. CHRISTOPHERSON having moved resolutions relating to slavery in the United States (they will be found in another place)—

The Rev. FRANCIS BISHOP, of Liverpool, addressed the Conference in an eloquent and effective speech, in which he gave an interesting account of his visit, two years ago, to the United States. We shall endeavour to find room for this speech hereafter.

PARKER PILLSBURY was next introduced. His speech will be found in another place.

Rev. S. R. WARD was next called upon by the Chairman; but at this stage of the proceedings, Mr. JOSEPH BARKER, formerly of England, now of the United States, came forward and desired to be heard. He was declared to be out of order, and considerable confusion ensued. Mr. B. desired to be heard *then* upon the ground that he would be under the necessity of leaving the Conference in a few minutes, but in the confusion of the moment his request was not acceded to. [We regret this.]

Mr. WARD now made a few observations. He stated that Mr. Pillsbury had not shown the law to be at all so bad as it really is, inasmuch as it named four distinct offences, for each of which the penalty he had named is inflicted. The law forbids—first, aiding and abetting the fugitive in escape; second, injury or obstruction to claimants; third, harbouring or concealing him; fourth, aiding, either directly or indirectly, in his escape—so that, in aiding but one slave to escape, the penalty may be incurred four times over, including four times imprisonment six months. Mr. Ward strongly advised Mr. Wm. Wells Brown not to return to the United States, as his free papers might easily, and would probably, be stolen from him or made no account of. Mr. Ward alluded further to the laws of the Southern States, which enable them to put in prison all coloured British sailors found on board vessels touching at Southern ports, by the operation of which, in one single year, sixty-five British-born subjects were sold for slaves in South Carolina and Georgia, because they were of the wrong colour. This had been brought before British statesmen, but they were like the old man's son—John did nothing, and Tom helped him! Mr. Ward was anxious that what had been said by Mr. Pillsbury about American Christianity should be understood, as it was meant, not to refer to the Christianity of Christ, and he stated that whilst the Quakers, and the Free-will Baptists, and some few Independents, refused to countenance slaveholding, the Episcopalians, the Methodists, the Baptists, the Unitarians, the Universalists, and the Presbyterians, all lent their countenance to it in America.

Rev. W. GUEST proceeded to address the Conference upon the guilt of the American Church in connection with slavery. He exposed the preposterous absurdity of the apologies for slavery purporting to be based upon the Scriptures. A single passage of his speech we must copy, because it conveys a kind remonstrance addressed to American Abolitionists:

"May I ask, in the name of this Conference, that the earnest anti-slavery advocates in America would take heed in confounding objections to the conduct of Christians with objections to Christianity itself. Let there be nothing, if possible, to keep Christians from placing themselves side by side with those whose exertions for the slave we so thoroughly admire. I have witnessed with pain, in the report of the proceedings of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its second decade, a line of remark which was at once unnecessary, and likely to offend the dearest and holiest convictions which it is possible for man to hold. This tone of remark on anti-slavery platforms is no excuse for American Churches; but let the cry of oppressed millions avail to repress everything that may promote disunion. O America! that 'giant scion of England,' as Chev. Bunsen has well called thee, we have thought that thou hadst a glorious and wondrous mission before thee in these latter ages as a spectacle to these ancient kingdoms of Europe of a self-governed, and contented, and prosperous people. May God grant that the time may come, and may this Conference among other agencies hasten it, when thy true-hearted sons shall band together, with one heart, and soul, and strength, to wipe away that which is a reproach upon thy name, a lie on thy profession, and a dishonour and outrage to the Christianity thou professest!"

Several gentlemen differed somewhat from Mr. Guest in their views upon the point thus alluded to.

The Rev. Dr. M'KERROW moved resolutions respecting the American Church and the American Anti-Slavery Society, which were seconded by J. H. Smithson and adopted unanimously.

Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL moved a preamble and resolution approving of the proposition to hold an Anti-Slavery Conference in London in October or November, next, and appointing delegates to the same; which, being seconded by Rev. JOHN LATHE, were adopted.

GEORGE THOMPSON introduced, and WILLIAM P. POWELL, formerly of New York, seconded, resolutions on the subject of growing cotton in India, which were adopted; after which the Conference adjourned *sine die*.

—On the evening subsequent to the Conference a public meeting was held at the Town Hall, when addresses were made by Rev. Dr. Beard, George Thompson, Parker Pillsbury, Wm. W. Brown and others. We have no room for particulars.

MASS ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION

IN EAST MARLBOROUGH, CHESTER COUNTY, PA.

On First day, 20th inst., a large concourse of people met under the broad-spreading forest oaks, near Friends' meeting-house in East Marlborough, Chester Co., Pa. The morning was beautiful. The audience embraced those of every age, from the smiling infant in the mother's arms to the old man of more than four-score years. After pleasant greetings on the part of friends, the meeting was called to order, and Dr. BARTHOLOMEW FUSSELL, one of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was called to the chair. JOSEPH A. DUGDALE was appointed Secretary.

After a few impressive remarks by EUSEBIUS BARNARD, the Secretary read appropriate selections from the Scriptures.

The audience was then addressed by J. MILLER MCKIM, in his happiest manner. He was followed by THOMAS CURTIS, in an earnest speech of half an hour. ROBERT PURVIS then spoke a few minutes, criticizing, in a friendly spirit, some remarks of one of the previous speakers.

SAMUEL AARON, of Norristown, followed in a short address, full of religious fervour. He said that, like the early Friends, he was without preparation; but his touching appeals for the slave will not soon be forgotten by those who heard him.

LUCRETIA MOTT alluded instructively to the burning rebukes against oppression which had been read from the Hebrew Scriptures at the opening of the meeting. She believed that the same Divine life, which was the light of men in other ages, inspired the advocates of purity and truth now, qualifying them, in the various departments of life, to be God's ministers in blessing the world.

The meeting then took a recess of one hour, which was spent in the most delightful social intercourse. Many of the people came with their baskets filled with refreshments, so that those who had "taken no thought" for the body's wants were abundantly supplied.

After the meeting resumed its deliberations, JOSEPH A. DUGDALE delivered an address, and was followed by MARY JACKSON, from England, who came to this country as a delegate from five Total Abstinence Societies to the World's Temperance Convention held last year in New York; and who, finding that that body would receive only *half* the world, presented her credentials to the *Whole* World's Convention, in which she was an effective speaker. She now made her *first* anti-slavery speech. She related her encounter with American doughfaces on shipboard, where she denounced the foul system of slavery. She warmed as she spoke, and her mother's heart swelled with pity for the slave and indignation against the system of chattelizing humanity. The auditory, which had steadily continued to augment in numbers, gave her a listening ear.

WILLIAMS THORN, a whole-hearted Abolitionist, but one who will not be accused of any undue reverence for religious teachers, whether of the past or present, took occasion to criticise some allusions which had been made by the previous speakers to the religious aspects of the cause; after which, eloquent and impressive remarks were offered by THOMAS CURTIS and LUCRETIA MOTT; when a discussion ensued on colourphobia and colonization, which was earnestly participated in by ROBERT PURVIS, Dr. SUMNER STEBBINS, LEWIS MARSHALL, THOMAS GARRETT and GEORGE P. DAVIS. Dr. Stebbins sympathized with and desired the prosperity of the Liberian colony, while he disclaimed any sympathy with the spirit of caste which drives the coloured Americans from the land of their birth. The Colonization Society and its operations received the most scorching anathemas of Robert Purvis.

After appropriate closing remarks from JOHN WILSON and ISAAC FLINT, the meeting adjourned, *sine die*.

J. A. DUGDALE, Secretary.

THE FOREIGN SLAVE TRADE.—The following statements are cut from an article in the *Daily Times* of this city. Abolitionists have often made similar declarations, but they have generally been regarded as fabulous:

"We have repeatedly called public attention to the fact that the slave trade is now, and has long been, actively *carried on between this city and the coast of Africa;* that New York merchants are constantly sending vessels to Africa to bring cargoes of slaves to Cuba; and that this infamous traffic, made piracy by special treaties as well as by the laws of the United States, is constantly carried on from this port and from Baltimore, with a degree of openness and recklessness which makes the government officers *accomplices* for not taking steps to break it up. The imbecility of the federal officials on this subject is absolutely incredible. Vessels are fitted up almost every week, ostensibly for Cuban ports, or for legitimate trade on the coast of Africa, which almost any trader to that coast will not have a moment's hesitation in identifying as destined for the slave trade. Yet not one of them is ever interrupted. Not one has the slightest difficulty in securing regular American papers, and, although every man of any judgment here knows perfectly well the errand on which they have been despatched, until their slaves are landed at some Cuban port and the Cuban authorities detect the traffic, not a word is ever heard about it here. There are merchants in our streets to-day who are making their tens and hundreds of thousands yearly by a traffic condemned alike by our laws and the public sentiment of the civilized world. And yet nothing is done by the officers of Government to enforce the law or vindicate the honour and dignity of the country."

This is just what might be expected of a nation whose Constitution is defiled by pro-slavery compromises, whose government is under the control of a slaveholding Oligarchy, and which is cursed with a religion whose ministers weave apologies for the chattelization of humanity. The foreign Slave Trade is indeed worthy to be branded as "piracy," but it is not a whit worse than the domestic traffic in human flesh, nor more atrocious than the Fugitive Slave act, to which the leading politicians and divines of the country lent their sanction in 1850. The truth is, the conscience of the country has been utterly debauched on the whole question of slavery, and nothing short of a complete extermination of the system can work a cure of the wide-spread corruption. If emancipation is such an evil that Dr. Spring, one of our most eminent and popular divines, cannot pray for it, why should *not* our merchants be allowed to import thousands of slaves to Cuba and Brazil every year, without forfeiting their standing either in the church or in social life?

POLITICS.

Some of the Whig papers talk of electing Fitz Henry Warren to the U. S. Senate in Iowa, in place of the doughface Dodge.

——Hon. J. R. GIDDINGS is going to Illinois, to take part in the effort to overthrow the rule of the Douglas Democracy in that State. He is advertised to speak in Chicago and other places during the month of September.

——The Democrats of Ohio, afraid to risk defeat by approving the Nebraska measure, and not daring to condemn it lest they should lose favour at Washington, have adopted the policy of saying nothing on the subject, one way or the other, in their County and District Conventions.

——The *Tribune* says the Whigs of Massachusetts, having renominated Gov. Washburn and passed flaming anti-slavery resolves, "have set up a weak ticket on a very strong platform. Their resolutions are full of the spirit of freedom, but their candidate is tainted with subservience to Slavery. His feeble and pusillanimous course on the occasion of the Burns affair renders his election impossible. It is to be hoped that he may decline, and a better man nominated in his place."

——The good news from Iowa, reported in our last, is confirmed. A Republican Governor, a Republican Legislature, and one Republican member of Congress are elected, sure; while there is a chance that the other Congressional District has been carried by the same party. The revolution is complete, ensuring the election of a U. S. Senator who will not follow in the footsteps of the doughface Augustus Cæsar Dodge.

——Hon. J. R. GIDDINGS has been renominated as the Republican candidate for Congress from the Ashtabula District. The party being composed in part of some new elements, the nomination was not effected until the fifth ballot, when the vote stood—for Giddings 43—for Hutchins 40—for Sutliff 1. The nomination of Mr. Giddings was then made unanimous, the opposing condidates cordially endorsing it.

——The Massachusetts Whig Convention passed some pretty strong anti-slavery resolutions, which they virtually nullified by nominating Governor Washburn for re-election. The Boston Whigs are not yet weaned from the notion that their party ascendancy is to be secured, at some future day, by the aid of the slaveholders. Sagacious politicians predict their defeat at the next election. The Republicans will hold their Convention early in September, after which the political atmosphere will doubtless be somewhat clearer than it is at present.

——Not long since, a letter, purporting to have been written by "Long John" Wentworth, representative in Congress from the Chicago District, was published in some western paper and copied by the *Tribune*, wherein the writer was represented as using this language: "We expect that the Nebraska bill will come before the House in a few days, when we hope to make short work of it. I HAVE TOO MANY FAVOURS TO ASK OF OUR SENATORS TO QUARREL WITH THEM." This language was used to discredit the sincerity of Mr. Wentworth in opposing the Nebraska fraud. Mr. Wentworth, however, in a letter addressed to the *National Era*, pronounces the letter a forgery, concocted by certain persons, who, having heard a genuine letter of his read, and, supposing the original destroyed, and that there would be no means of exposing the fraud, took this method of bringing him into disrepute, with a view to prevent his re-election to Congress. The rogues employed certain words in the forged letter, which they remembered as having been in the genuine, but in such a connection as utterly to misrepresent Mr. Wentworth's sentiments. He has been fortunate enough to obtain a certified copy of the letter he *did* write; and this, instead of that quoted above, is his language: "When the Nebraska bill comes to the House, we hope to make quick work with it. I have to use our Senators too often to quarrel with them unnecessarily. *But, when responsibilities legitimately devolve on me, I am not the man you voted for if I do not meet them as becomes a Representative of my people.*"

——"Potomac," the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore *Patriot*, says that a political movement is going on there, and in other sections of the country, which has for its object the thorough re-organization of the Whig party, and the running of General Winfield Scott for President, and Hon. John Bell for Vice-President at the election in 1856.

GETTING A SUBSCRIBER.—Sallie Holley has been lecturing this summer in some of the South-western Counties of New York. In a letter to Francis Jackson, which we find in the *Liberator*, she tells us how she got a subscriber for the STANDARD. The scene of the story was Belfast, Allegany Co., where she held two meetings, which, though it was in the midst of the haying season, were thronged.

"At the close of the second meeting, an old man came forward, asking to borrow a number of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, until the next morning, as then I would be obliged to leave.

"Accordingly, the next morning, before breakfast, and in the midst of a pouring rain, the old man made his appearance. With a countenance expressive of the highest interest, and holding out the number of the *Standard*, he told this artless story: 'I wish to take *that* paper. I know all that's in it. I cannot read or write, but I have a daughter who can, and I kept her reading it to me almost all night, and this morning she has been up reading it again to me. I have been an Abolitionist ever since I was a boy twelve years old. My father was one of the earliest settlers in this country. He took the first raft to Pittsburgh; and when he came back, he told us about seeing a boat, on the Monongahela, from Maryland, with a negro man chained to the bottom. The negro looked so broken-hearted, that father went to him and asked what ailed him. He told father that he had a wife and children in Maryland, and that he was sold, and that now his new master was taking him South, where he could never see his family again.'

"My morning visitor concluded with, 'Then, I was a boy twelve years old; but, ever since, I have been opposed to the system.'

"He subscribed for the *Standard*. O, it is good to see our holy cause advancing, and taking hold of the best sympathies—

'Feeling the might
Of God's right arm around me.'"

HOW AN AUTHOR GOT HIS DESERTS.—Sallie Holley, in a letter to Francis Jackson, published in the *Liberator*, tells the following capital story, showing how the man who demolished Mrs. Stowe was himself demolished.

"Perhaps you may remember that a man in Buffalo, by the name of Smith, wrote that *complete demolisher* of Mrs. Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin as it is'; and that he received as a reward some military appointment from President Fillmore.

"A few weeks ago, this Smith appeared, exquisitely dressed, at the office of a young lawyer, who does the private business of Col. May, the principal citizen of Phillipsville, in this county (Allegany, N. Y.). This lawyer is a native of Virginia, but from repugnance to slavery, prefers to reside at the North.

"Smith, after great elaborateness of bow and manner, announced himself as some sort of a U. S. military officer (I forget what), with his name and place of residence, proceeded to inquire, 'Are you the gentleman who attends to the business of Col. May? I am informed that he has never *qualified* for the office of Colonel.'

"After the lawyer's assurance that this was a mistake, the conversation turned upon slavery; when the lawyer chanced to remark, 'By the way, somebody in your city made a jackass of himself, by writing that weak and miserable book, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin, as it is.'

"Whereupon officer Smith fiercely bristled up, loudly demanded, 'Do you mean to insult me?'

"'Insult you!' returned the surprised lawyer. 'No, I had no such intention.'

"'You had,' retorted the other, 'you must have known that I was the author of that work.'

"This was the first intimation the lawyer had of that fact. But the incensed author went on declaring his book a true picture of the domestic institution of the South; and that the falsehoods of Mrs. Stowe demanded such a refutation, &c.

"To this the lawyer replied—'Well, what I have to say is, whoever wrote that book was a ——— fool' [using an adjective indicative of no state of special blessedness]. 'I was born and bred in a slave State—have lived in the very midst of slavery, and I know of horrors there worse than any Mrs. Stowe describes,' &c., &c.

"The result was, that, very soon, author and officer Smith vanished."

MUCH IN LITTLE.

The *Portland Inquirer* of last week announces the formation of eleven "Ladies' Anti-Slavery Societies" in as many different towns in Maine.

——"A BAKE-PAN FOR THE DOUGHFACES" is the title of a pamphlet just published at Burlington, Vermont, by C. Goodrich. The papers speak of it as a capital thing.

——Franklin Dexter, the President of the Massachusetts Whig Convention, in a speech made by him on taking the chair in that body, expressed the opinion that it would not be safe to open up New England to the efforts of the slaveholders, or of those who would be slaveholders if they could. A pretty hard hit at the Boston Whig aristocracy, who would like very well, no doubt, to see the peculiar institution legalized on the soil of Massachusetts.

——In Boston, a few days since, according to the *Chronicle* of that city, a coloured man, of the darkest possible shade, was passing down Cambridge street, with a very heavy basket on his shoulder. Two persons, with a greater share of prejudice than common sense, passed him, and in doing so, one of them said in a tone of contempt, loud enough to be heard by "Uncle Tom," "there goes another nigger!" The son of Africa deposited his basket, and endeavoured to correct the prejudice of the first speaker. "Who you call nigger? You don't know what a nigger is! It isn't colour dat makes a nigger, it's principle, dat's it!"

——Of disunion, the celebrated Fisher Ames once said: "I wish it was part of the catechism to teach youth that it cannot be. An Englishman thinks he can beat two Frenchmen. I wish to have every American think the Union so indissoluble and integral, that corn would not grow, nor the pot boil, if it should be broken." If Mr. Ames and his cotemporaries desired to make the Union indissoluble, they should not have incorporated therein an element so explosive as slavery. The sentiment above quoted may be very patriotic, as the world goes, but we think it would have been far better if the founders of the Union had heeded the inspired declaration: "Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people."

——The Presbyterian Church at Galesburg, Ill., has resolved, by a vote of the members, to withdraw from the New-School Presbytery, because they are "unwilling to continue in ecclesiastical connection with slaveholders." They say:

"As religion is stronger than politics, and underlies and characterizes all political relations, we are constrained to believe that the Assembly's moral influence has been to exalt and give religious respectability to slavery, and weaken correspondingly, and run down the sentiment of freedom in this country. And we are constrained to believe that at this hour, in answer to the prayers of godly and pious men and women who have toiled earnestly against slavery, the application of free principles is making far more rapid progress among all classes of persons outside of the national religious organizations which include slaveholders, than within them, thus showing demonstrably that their organizations are bulwarks and break-waters around slavery against the rising spirit of freedom."

——The following, says the *Massachusetts Spy*, is the inscription upon the monument recently erected in Beverly to the memory of Hon. Robert Rantoul:

"HERE LIES THE BODY OF
ROBERT RANTOUL, JUN.,
Who was born in Beverly, 13th August, 1805, and died in Washington, 7th August, 1852.

An upright lawyer, a liberal statesman, a good citizen, studious of the past, yet mindful of the future. Throughout an active life he strove for the improvement of his fellow men. The faithful friend of education, he upheld the public schools. A lover of virtue, he opposed intemperance by word and example. In the name of justice and humanity, he laboured to abolish the punishment of death. Inspired by freedom, he gave his professional services to a slave hunted down by public clamour, and bore his testimony in Court and Congress against the cruel enactment that sanctioned the outrage. He held many places of official trust and honour; but the good works, filling his days, were above these. Stranger! at least in something imitate him."

——The *Toronto Patriot* denies, on the following grounds, that there is any disposition among the Canadians to ask for annexation to the United States:

"The people of Canada want no such freedom as the Government of the United States guarantees to its citizens. We are a free, contented, happy and loyal people, choosing to be governed by a 'good-natured Queen,' in preference to a set of Republican oppressors, in the shape of American slaveholders and others of that ilk. There is no doubt but that these Provinces are infested with a set of Yankee pedlars and blacklegs, who come over to cheat and rob the 'good-natured and innocent Canadians,' but it is absurd to say that we recognise them as good authority and worthy of imitation. If anything has had the effect of sinking the citizens of the United States in the eyes of the Canadians, it is, that Americans come into our towns and cities—they start an extensive business—they get an unlimited credit—and, after they have secured all in their power, they rush away with the booty. So long as this state of affairs continues, there is little chance for Americans becoming popular in Canada. We do, however, happen to know, that several of the northern States are anxious to join with Canada and the other British Provinces, and form an independent confederacy."

——Some years ago, says the *Tribune*, a black man called on a clergyman in Western New York, avowed himself a fugitive slave, and asked for food and shelter, which was freely accorded. Two or three persons being cognizant of the fact, called in to see the "runaway nigger," when the following dialogue ensued:

"S'pose you had pretty hard times down South—lickings a plenty?"

"No—I never was whipped."

"Wasn't?—Well you had to work awful hard?"

"My work was very light."

"Guess your clothes wasn't very nice?"

"I was always well clothed—I was a good servant."

"Reckon your victuals wasn't uncommon fine?"

"As good as I desired."

"Well! I should give it as my opinion that you was a mighty big fool for running away from such a place as this, just for the sake of shirking for yourself."

"Gentlemen! my place down South is vacant. Any of you can have it by applying for it."

——We know of no region where the Young People of both sexes are doing more for their own moral and intellectual improvement than is being accomplished by the same class in that part of Chester County, Pa., where the Anti-Slavery Movement has exerted the strongest influence. In the region to which we allude, the better portion of the young people are generally associated in Lyceums, which, by affording opportunities for written composition as well as for oral debate on important scientific and moral subjects, are exerting a powerful influence in qualifying their members for the active duties of life. Once a year all the Lyceums in several contiguous townships meet in Convention, generally in the woods, where they spend a day partly in the delivery of addresses, essays, &c., and partly in healthful amusement and recreation. We find in the Westchester *Independent Herald* an account of such a Convention held on the 12th inst., in Jackson's woods, in the township of London Grove. Isaac Jackson presided, with the assistance of one Vice-President from each Lyceum, while Alice Jackson and Lewis Marshall acted as Secretaries. Each Lyceum, in turn, occupied three-quarters of an hour, with such addresses, essays, dialogues, &c., as it chose to offer. Slavery, intemperance, war, the evils resulting from the use of tobacco, &c., were among the subjects that claimed attention. The day appears to have been usefully and happily spent.

HON. JOSIAH QUINCY'S SPEECH in the Massachusetts Whig Convention will be found on the first page. It breathes the true spirit of '76. Would to God that the Free States were prepared to plant themselves inflexibly upon the principle which that venerable and clear-sighted statesman has laid down. The day of their enfranchisement, as well as that of the American slaves, would then be near at hand. Mr. Quincy was cheered by the great body of the Convention, but the lilliputs who now lead the Whig party in that State did not endorse the sentiments of his speech. But Massachusetts will yet come up to his mark. Let us labor and wait!

PORTRAIT OF A SLAVE-CATCHER.—Our readers all remember the villain who attempted to carry off into slavery John Freeman, a coloured citizen of Indianapolis. Here is an account of him, from the *Indiana Free Democrat:*

"KANSAS TERRITORY, 7 mo. 28, 1854.

"DEAR FRIEND VAILE: Believing that it would be interesting to the readers of the *Democrat* to know something about Pleasant Ellington, since he has became a public man, I offer a few items, which I have gleaned from reliable sources. I frequently meet with men here who know him personally. He now resides in St. Joseph, Missouri; had to remove to that place from Ridgely, his former residence. I have been informed by a Methodist minister, residing in Platte county, that he has been putting his property out of his hands, to prevent John Freeman from collecting the sum stipulated to be paid him, but that if timely efforts were used, and proper persons employed, it could yet be collected, and that the people generally in that region would be glad it should be collected. It seems that he is very unpopular among the people there. A number of his neighbours, several of whom were slaveholders, were collected at a post-office, when the news came that he was defeated in his suit with Freeman. There was great joy among them at this intelligence, and they talked strongly of having a public jollification over it.

"He once belonged to the Methodist Church South, but the members of the congregation to which he belonged, had made frequent attempts to have him disowned, but their minister would always screen him. Finally they told the minister that if he did not disown Ellington, they would disband and break up the Church. The minister then told Ellington of this, and he apparently much affected, said he would withdraw for the good of the cause.

"A son-in-law of Ellington, is a missionary of the Methodist Church South, among the Wyandott Indians in this territory, and with him are a number of Ellington's slaves, placed there to prevent their being sold for his debts. But I think John Freeman would not be willing to have slaves sold to indemnify him for his losses. I should think that the friends of Freeman would rather make up the amount, than this should be done. But it is likely that other property could be secured by timely attention to the subject. Thine for freedom. RICHARD MENDENHALL."

CANADA.—The Providence *Journal* says:

"The annexation of Canada to the United States is growing more and more probable. If it ever takes place it will be done without war, without purchase, and by the free consent of all the parties in interest, and for the benefit of all. The people of Canada have made, and are still making great strides to prosperity. They are a hardy, enterprising and intelligent people, accustomed to free institutions, and accustomed to regard the United States with admiration tempered indeed with envy, but still genuine and sincere. If any more annexation is to be made in a southerly direction, the north will demand a balance beyond the lakes, and if it can be obtained peaceably, the demand cannot be refused.

"The treaty just concluded, and which we hope will be followed by another providing for real and complete reciprocity, will tend to assimilate the people of the two countries, and will prepare them for closer union. The more they get acquainted, the better they will like each other. Identity of interests will grow up, and even if a formal annexation is long delayed, there will be intimate social and commercial relations."

On the other hand, the editor of the *Practical Christian* (Adin Ballou), who has recently made a tour through Canada, and to whose judgment as that of a sagacious and candid observer we should attach a very high value, thus speaks on the same subject:

"On the subject of the annexation of these Provinces to the American Union, I will merely observe, that from what I heard said by intelligent Canadians on this subject, there is very little desire among the Provincialists to belong to our Slavocratic Union, and that the chances are five to one for the ultimate formation of an independent Canadian Nation in close alliance with Great Britain."

☞If our Canadian neighbours would not see a general man-hunting and kidnapping through all their land, the southern slave-hunter and his base and contemptible northern tools prowling among their towns and villages and farms, and such scenes of violence and atrocity as have been enacted in some of our northern States and cities, they will avoid any union with these States, as they would a moral leprosy. All social and commercial advantages can be, and will be, far more easily secured to them, by means of reciprocal treaties, than by their putting their necks into this Union, which is only another name for putting them unde the yoke of the Slave Power.

A DIPLOMATIC QUESTION.—We publish the following letter from the Baltimore *Sun*, without further knowledge of the facts to which it alludes. It will be nothing new to Abolitionists to be told that the diplomacy of this country, like every other department of the government, is under the control of the Slave Power:

WASHINGTON, Aug. 16.

The status of the negro in the United States is to be presented in a new aspect. A fugitive slave who had gone to a foreign country, upon sustaining in that country what he conceived to be a wrong from its Government, applied to the U. S. Minister to that Government for protection as a citizen of the United States. The decision of our minister was adverse to his right to claim the intervention sought.

The information received is not very explicit, and a different version denies the imputed wrong and the refusal of protection; stating that the minister merely declined to give an American passport to the negro, or to *vise* or sanction a consular passport given to him before.

This, no doubt, will, by northern Abolitionists, be turned into a grave question; but the opinion here decidedly inclines in favour of the act of our minister. Mr. Webster, while Secretary of State, I believed, refused passports to negroes *as citizens of the United States*, though they were born in this country, and the naturalization laws are not held to apply to them.

The question, it is understood, will be presented to the administration in the form of a complaint against our minister. It is presumed the executive will maintain the doctrine that the Federal Union is a confederacy of whites and not a "*mixed republic.*"

THE NEGRO-CATCHING RAILROAD IN INDIANA.—We copied last week, from the *Tribune*, two letters exposing the conduct of the Directors of the Railroad between Indianapolis and Jeffersonville, in requiring every coloured person applying for passage at the latter place to prove his freedom by some well-known citizen of that place. It was stated in one of those letters that some of the coloured people, who had been excluded from the cars by the operation of this rule, had sued the company for damages. We have now the pleasure of stating that the first of the suits in question has been decided against the railroad managers, who were mulcted in the sum of $20. They intend to appeal to a higher Court, and the friends of justice are endeavouring to raise funds to employ the best of counsel. The slaveholders of Louisville will leave no stone unturned in their efforts to enforce the law of slavery in Indiana, and they will have the aid of the whole army of doughfaces. N. Field, in a letter to the *Indiana Free Democrat*, states that a number of free negroes have already been arrested, run off to Kentucky and lodged in jail till they could prove their freedom; and he calls upon all coloured people and all anti-slavery men to shun the road as they would a pestilence! Louisville can be reached both by the Madison and New Albany roads. It is to be hoped that every anti-slavery man who has a spark of pride or consistency in his composition, will throw his patronage into the hands of these companies.

MEETINGS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

☞NANTUCKET, MASS.—STEPHEN S. FOSTER and ABBY KELLEY FOSTER, Agents of the American and Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies, will hold meetings in Nantucket the coming week, probably on Wednesday and Thursday, August 30 and 31.

☞NEW BEDFORD.—S. S. and A. K. FOSTER will hold a meeting in New Bedford, on Sunday, Sept. 3d, at the customary hours of meeting, day and evening.

☞Rev. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture in Barnstable Co., Mass., as follows:

Chatham	Tuesday, August	29.
Orleans	Wednesday, "	30.
Brewster	Thursday, "	31.
East Dennis	Friday,	Sept. 1.
North Dennis	Sunday, "	3

A preacher, advertising herself as "Miss Sarah Pellet, a graduate of Oberlin," delivered a discourse last Sunday in this city, taking for her text the words, "*Stand up, I myself also am a man.*" If Pellet is a man, what right has he to advertise himself as a woman?—*N. Y. Observer.*

A pretty sharp "evangelical" joke, it must be confessed. But did our neighbour intend to make light of the Scripture declaration that God made *man* "male and female"? And are we to understand that when the *Observer* speaks of "Christ, the Saviour of *men*," it intends to monopolize the benefits of his salvation in behalf of the male sex? Perhaps that paper, having so long advocated the system which *heathenizes* a large portion of the American people, has concluded to advocate also the heathen sentiment that "women have no souls."

THE SARATOGA CONVENTION.—The resolutions adopted by this Convention will be found on the first page. They are as good, probably, as we had any reason to expect from such a body. It is believed that they will have the effect of securing the nomination, by the Whigs, of a ticket that will receive the support of Anti-Nebraska men of all parties. The Silver Gray (Fillmore) Whigs threaten to support Bronson, who is said to have accepted, at last, the nomination of the 'Hards' for Governor. The 'Softs' will probably nominate Seymour. If it were not for the disturbing element thrown into our State politics by the Know-Nothings, it would be easy to predict the result.

CUBA.—The Queen of Spain has given proof of her sincere wish and determination to prevent the further importation of slaves to Cuba by bestowing crosses of honour, or pensions, upon various persons who have rendered efficient aid in enforcing the decrees of the Government and capturing Africans recently landed contrary to law. It is believed that this measure will have a powerful effect, the Spaniards having a great passion for such tokens from their sovereign.

SALLIE HOLLEY, having lectured once to general acceptance in Wellsville, Allegany Co., N. Y., was invited to speak again in the same place on Sunday last. The *Valley Free Press* urged the people to attend, and we have little doubt that they followed its advice.

Summary.

IMMENSE YIELD.—The North West Copper Co. of Michigan, have just received intelligence of the opening upon a mass of copper in one of their new veins of one hundred and sixty tons.—*Phil. Register.*

The Warrington (Va.) *Whig* says: "Easter, a negro woman, the property of MRS. ELIZA F. CARTER, near Upperville, in Fauquier County, died on the 17th of July, having attained the age of *one hundred and forty years.*

TREASON.—The Milwaukee *Free Democrat* has a "despatch," announcing that the Cabinet has decided to proceed against Jeffards, the egg-man, for high treason. We rather doubt the liability of Jeffards to such a prosecution, though we think the *egg* might well be indicted for *adhering to an enemy of the United States.*—*Phil. Register.*

The Richmond *Enquirer*, which recently boasted of the high state of religion (!) in that part of the Union, says, "Rev. S. Black, a Southern Methodist minister, lately preached a sermon on Williams' river, in Nicholas county, *which was the first ever delivered in that region of country, though it had been settled for fifty years.*" Is there a county in New England which can furnish the *Enquirer* with such an item?

The Bangor *Mercury* of the 12th says that a watch was handed into the store of John Stevens & Co., one of our jewelers, having been forwarded by mail from Pensacola, Florida, for repairs. The bill for repairs here is $2; the postage each way is twenty cents. A jeweller in Pensacola wanted $8 for the work, and being the only one of the trade in the place, thought to extort that amount; but the Yankee was too much for him.

SAD PICTURE.—A gentleman informs the Richmond (Va.) *Dispatch* that while taking a stroll on one of the islands in James River, not far from Mayo's Bridge, last Sunday morning, he counted as many as twenty-two boys, from ten to fifteen years of age, engaged in gaming with cards and dice for money. In some of the parties he saw grown men and small boys playing bluff, and cursing, swearing and drinking.

Sometimes editors receive a note containing an extract or selection, or it may be a communication, with the remark that "it will do to *fill up*," or "you may want something to fill up." We never want any thing of the kind. The difficulty is to find room for all that is *valuable*, and that ought to go in the paper; what is merely intended to *fill up* is never needed.—*Alexandria Gazette.*

The Paris (Ky.) *Flag* says that Matt. Ward, (the murderer), accompanied by his family and younger brother, Robt. J. Ward, Jr., passed through that place on Monday last, en route to Blue Lick Springs. It being election day, the town was full of people, and an immense crowd assembled at the Paris Hotel to get sight of the great *unhung* before he took his departure in the stage.

"REPUBLICAN PARTY."—One hundred parts whiggery, fifty parts Abolitionism, twenty-five parts Maine Lawism, and one part Anti-Nebraskaism—is the Vermont recipe for making a *Republican Party.*—*Union Democrat.*

"ADMINISTRATION PARTY."—One hundred parts slavery, fifty parts doughfaced flunkeyism, twenty-five parts "drugged liquor," fifteen parts Hartford

Miscellaneous Department.

MASSANIELLO.

ALFRED VON REUMONT, favourably known to German readers as the author of a work published some years ago under the title of "Romische Briefe" (Letters from Rome), has again exercised his pen on Italian history, and has given in the *Caraffa of Maddaloni*, a picture of Naples under the Spaniards—a subject full of interest. To add more animation to his narrative, he has interwoven with the general subject a biography of the Caraffas, a family which has been more or less mixed up with most of the great events in Neapolitan history. From among the various interesting subjects touched upon by our author, we will select what seems to us to be written in the most lively style—the narrative of Massaniello's insurrection.

Two years in two successive centuries obtained a tragical fame in Neapolitan history. By a remarkable coincidence, the leaders in both insurrections bore the same name. In 1547, the people rose against Don Pedro de Toledo, who wished to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into Italy; in the year 1647, against the Duke of Arcos, who attempted to impose taxes upon all kinds of objects. In both instances, a man sprung from the lowest dregs of society threatened the Spanish dominion with destruction.

The insurrection first broke out in Palermo, in May, 1647, owing to the oppressive imposts on the necessaries of life. The news of the tumults reached Naples, ever ripe for revolt. The viceroy was stopped on his way to mass. The Duke of Arcos, little dreaming of the need he should have of their assistance to maintain the Spanish rule in Naples itself, had unfortunately just sent most of his German and Spanish troops into Lombardy.

In the middle of the market-place—the scene of so many disturbances—stood a small house, differing from the other wretched houses around only in having the royal arms of Charles V. carved upon it. In it dwelt a poor fisherman, Tomaso Aniello, called for shortness Massaniello. He was of the middle height; his dark eyes glared out of a sunburnt face, while his fair, long hair fell over his shoulders in striking contrast with his dark complexion.

It so happened that, in the midst of the dissatisfaction caused by the pressure of the new imposts, Massaniello's wife was imprisoned for attempting to smuggle some flour. Nearly all his small earnings were swallowed up in paying the penalty; his passions were fanned by one Giulio Genoino, a favourite of a former viceroy, the Duke of Ossuna. This man, after various strange adventures in Barbary, where he had been a galley-slave, had returned to Naples, and became a priest.

Such was the state of things, and such Massaniello's feelings, on the morning of the 7th July, 1647. It happened to be Sunday; a number of carts and donkeys, laden with fruit and vegetables, drove into the market-place as usual; they had scarcely arrived when the contest between the officers on guard and the venders began. Several worthy burghers, fearing a riot, hurried to the viceroy, who sent one of the deputies of the people to restore peace. The tumult increased—the Duke of Arcos sent two nobles who were well looked upon by the people—Tiberio Caraffa, Prince of Bisignano, and Ettore Ravaschieri, Prince of Satriano—to quell the disturbances, in which they succeeded, by promising that the viceroy would abolish all the odious duties.

Massaniello, who had remained a quiet spectator during the riot, now came forward, and induced the people to go with him to the palace; a ragged, noisy company it was, and fully aware of its power. The Duke, with whom were many nobles, who advised him to double his guard, refused—either from fear of exciting the people, or from contempt for them—to take any precautions. Meanwhile the people's demands rose with the concessions made to them; fresh crowds poured into the square, and finding no impediment, entered the palace, disarmed the German body-guard, broke open the doors, and plundered and broke everything within their reach. The Duke managed to escape into the castle of Saint Elmo. The Spanish troops, falling back from all outlying posts, concentrated themselves in the park adjoining the palace and the castle.

During the night, the Theatins and Jesuits left their convents, formed processions, and chanted Litanies, but the *ora pro nobis* was drowned in the yells of the populace; the streets were filled with thieves and cut-throats, who had left their low haunts. After forcing the prisons and destroying the toll-houses, the mob attacked and pillaged the houses of all such as were supposed to have made money by monopolies, or in any way at the expense of the public. No one thought of offering any resistance. Furniture, plate, pictures, everything, in short, was piled up in a heap in the streets and burned.

Up to this period the people were not armed. They now plundered the armorers' shops, and chose Massaniello as their leader. Meanwhile the Duke of Arcos lost no time. He provisioned the Castle of Saint Elmo, concerted signals, gave orders for the distribution of all the gunpowder that was in Naples, and towards midnight he went, accompanied by a strong detachment, to the Castle Nuovo; and the morning of the 8th was expected with some anxiety.

The morning broke, but brought no comfort. The tocsin was rung, and the crowd, composed chiefly of discontented serfs from the neighbouring baronies, brigands and vagabonds of all sorts, and all armed, flocked from all quarters. The mass was rendered more hideous by crowds of women of the vilest class—hags such as Naples only can show. It was soon obvious that the masses were not left to their own blind impulses, but were guided by skilful heads. Unfortunately, too, the Conde de Monterey, a former viceroy, had given the Neapolitans a species of military training. The inhabitants of the different quarters of the town had been formed into companies, somewhat analagous to the Hernandades instituted in Spain by the Bishop of Tortosa in Charles V.'s reign. This slight drilling was of great service to the rioters, and as they were joined by many workmen and some respectable burghers, the insurrection assumed a more formidable aspect. The two leaders were Domenico Perrone, who had been a catch-poll, or bailiff, and Massaniello. The whole plot, however, was guided and managed by Giulio Genoino.

The Duke of Arcos, seeing that his soldiers were too few to do more than defend the forts, determined to make use of the Neapolitan nobles as negotiators. He might thus gain time, and possibly recover lost ground. The Prince of Montesarchio, the first selected to go on this errand of peace, failing in his mission, the Duke of Arcos suddenly bethought him of Diomed Caraffa, Duke of Maddaloni, who was at that moment imprisoned in the Castle Nuovo for various misdeeds. He may have owed this honour to his acquaintance with Domenico Perrone, who had been a brigand as well as a catch-poll, and in both capacities had much to do with Diomed Caraffa.

The Duke of Maddaloni, in company with several other nobles, rode to the market-place. He dwelt eloquently on the promises of the viceroy, and at first he was well-received. Many among the rioters were but too well known to him, and his wild mode of life had won him admirers among the rabble. But as he merely repeated what had been said by others, they were discontented, and shouted lustily for the privilegium of Charles V. This privilegium had long been the watchword of the people. They not only demanded exemption from taxation, but that the people should be placed on an equality with the nobles, and be eligible for municipal offices. Maddaloni promised all. He was glad to escape from the throng which pressed round him and his horse.

These negotiations did not avail much. On the previous day the toll-houses had been torn down, and a few houses burnt. In the course of the evening, flames rose in all parts of the town, and the morning of the 9th of July was ushered in with the most hideous scenes. Stunned by the noise, and by the contradictory advice poured into his ears by a hundred different counsellors, the Duke of Maddaloni was again sent as mediator, and rode to the market-place, bearing a declaration that the viceroy abolished all taxes imposed since the days of Charles V., and proclaimed a general amnesty. Scarcely had Maddaloni read aloud the proclamation, when the tumult waxed louder. On a sudden, Massaniello sprang upon the Duke, tore him from his saddle, and committed him, bound, to the charge of Domenico Perrone.

Maddaloni did not remain long in bondage. The man into whose charge he was given was an old acquaintance, and conducted him to a Carmelite convent, whence the Duke escaped in the disguise of a monk.

All other resources failing, the Duke of Arcos had recourse to the archbishop. The viceroys were loth to trust much to the ecclesiastical authorities, with whom they were always at issue on points connected with their jurisdiction; and Cardinal Filomarino was reckoned to be too favourable to the people; but there was no choice left.

The archbishop soon found that he could not appease the tumult. It was not this or that privilege they wanted; they were bent on rapine and murder. While reading aloud the old privilegium and the new promises of the viceroy, the tumult increased, and the Cardinal sought refuge in a convent. The night that ensued was as terrible as the preceding ones. Massaniello had stormed the convent of San Lorenzo, and taken the city artillery. He had likewise disarmed two detachments of troops which the viceroy had summoned to his aid from Pozzueli and Torre del Greco.

Thus passed the night. The new day (Wednesday, the 10th of July) witnessed the same outrages. Massaniello, maddened by the news of Maddaloni's escape, now made the best use of his time.

During the first three days, everything had gone by chance; the revolt was now fairly organized. The people were told to muster according to their parishes, and to march in that order to the market-place. Companies were formed in the shortest space of time; more than one consisted of women of the lowest class; it is easy to picture to one's self the hideous appearance such a company presented. By these means, Massaniello found himself at the head of about 114,000 men, all armed with various weapons.

Meanwhile, Massaniello had been to Castle Nuovo to obtain from the viceroy a confirmation of the terms agreed on by the leaders of the revolt; he was about to enter the Carmelite convent, when Domenico Perrone, who had not been much seen since Maddaloni's escape, beckoned to Massaniello, as if he had something to say to him. At this moment a shot was fired; Massaniello rushed to the door of the church, exclaiming, "Treason! treason!" Several shots were fired after him, but without effect; an attack was then made on the mob in the market-place by some two or three hundred bandits; but these were soon driven back and slaughtered. The mob broke into the convent, and discovered Domenico Perrone in the cell of one of the Carmelite brothers; he was dragged out, bleeding from a wound in the head, and quickly dispatched.

The higher Massaniello rose in popular favour, the greater was the viceroy's desire to come to terms. He repudiated all that had been attempted in his name by Maddaloni, and urged the archbishop to bring matters to a conclusion. The streets, meanwhile, became the scene of the most frightful murders. Men were forbidden to wear their long clocks, the women to wear what were called *guarda infantas;* and the Cardinals Filomarino and Trivulzio laid aside their long robes. The people were masters of all Naples, save the Castle Nuovo, with its adjacent park, and the arsenal, the Castle del Uovo, and St. Elmo, and the Pizzo Falcone; these were positions which which would have enabled the Spaniards to lay Naples in ashes, had they been minded to use their artillery. But the viceroy wished to spare the town.

At length, on the 11th of July, the fifth day of the insurrection, a compromise was effected. It was solemnly proclaimed in the Carmelite church that the viceroy confirmed all the old privileges, and would speedily announce new ones. As a mark of this reconciliation, Massaniello was to hold a conference with the viceroy, in the palace.

It was some time past midday when Massaniello rode out at the head of an armed throng. Thousands of people had crowded thither to witness so imposing a procession. Massaniello halted in the square before the Castle, and holding out to the people the old privilege of Charles V. and the new grant of the viceroy, he announced to them that everything was now arranged.

The viceroy had gone to the palace, which had been got ready and furnished for the occasion. The palace was protected by a strong barricade; earth-works had been thrown up in the park surrounding it; the palace itself was occupied by Spanish, German, and Walloon soldiers. The Duke of Arcos received Massaniello at the end of what was called "Alba's Hall," embraced him, and then, accompanied by the cardinal, went into an adjoining hall. The several articles of the treaty were agreed to, and the publication was deferred till the next day but one. It was now dark, and the procession again began its homeward road: it was late when the Fisherman was put down at his own door by the Cardinal Archbishop's carriage.

Although peace was concluded, the state of the town was by no means satisfactory. Five days sufficed to put an end to all order and authority. The wild doings of the nobles were bad enough; the saturnali of the mob were beyond endurance.

Nor was the mischief confined to the lower class. Aniello Falcone, a painter of some reputation, who had been insulted in a street row by some Spanish soldiers, was joined by a band of young painters, of whom he took the command. They called themselves the "band of death." The best known among them were Salvator Rosa, who was then about two-and-thirty, and Micco Spadone, who has left so many sketches of the frightful scenes of those days. This "band of death," armed with swords and daggers, paraded the streets, dealing death to every Spaniard they met.

At first, Giuseppe Ribera (Spagnoletto) tried to intercede with the Duke of Arcos, and to excuse the misdoings of the band of young artists, but they shortly committed such excesses, that he gave up the attempt. When Massaniello fell, Salvator Rosa and Aniello Falcone escaped to Rome; the latter, after painting many battle-pieces for Louis XIV., was suffered, at the intercession of Colbert, to return to Naples.

Such was the state of Naples when Arcos and Massaniello met, on the 13th July, in the cathedral, in order solemnly to ratify and publish the new agreements. The Cardinal Archbishop, in full pontificals, took his seat on the throne; at a short distance stood the Duke of Arcos and Massaniello. The articles were then read; the chief points were as follows—the old privileges, from the time of Ferrante of Arragon to that of Charles V. were confirmed; all crimes committed during the late disturbances were pardoned; the people were allowed to vote in municipal affairs as well as the nobles; all imposts since the time of Charles V. were abolished; and all excesses committed against houses and property passed over. The people were to wait three months till these articles were ratified by the Court of Madrid, and were, in the meantime, to retain possession of their arms.

The Dude of Arcos swore on the Bible to keep the covenant. The Archbishop chanted the *Te Deum*, and the people shouted, "Long live the King of Spain!" The viceroy then returned to the castle. As Massaniello went home, the companies saluted him by lowering their banners.

This was the turning-point in the career of the fishermen of Amalfi. The altered habits of life, the incessant excitement, the constant speaking and want of sleep, the little food he took, from fear of poison—all this occurring, too, in the middle of the tremendous summer heats, affected his mind and body. Many of his proceedings can only be explained by incipient madness. Wherever he went, the figure of the Duke of Maddaloni followed him like a spectre.

Massaniello's rule was now drawing to a close—madness and cruelty hurried him to his end. His short reign was one of terror. The Cardinal Archbishop had either lost all his influence over the popular leader, or fear of losing his own popularity paralyzed his actions. The Cardinal wrote to the Pope, saying, "the prudence, acuteness, and moderation which this man at first displayed, deserted him after signing the articles of agreement: his actions were thenceforth marked by indecision, passion, and tyranny, to such an extent as to render him odious to his own immediate hangers-on." Among these may be reckoned Genoino and Arpaja. When these men saw they could no longer control their puppet, that everything was going to ruin, and that they themselves would be the first victims, they determined to come to terms with the viceroy; and the festival of the Madonna of Carmel, the 16th of July, was selected as the day on which to carry the plot into execution.

During the night all the military posts were strengthened. A general feeling of alarm and apprehension pervaded all classes. The Archbishop was celebrating his mass in the church of Sta. Maria del Carmine. He had scarce ended the service when Massaniello entered the chancel, bearing a crucifix, and uttered a rambling speech to the assembled multitude. Overcome with fatigue, he attempted to undress himself in the middle of the church, but was hurried off by the monks to an adjoining convent, where he threw himself upon a bed in one of the cells.

The bravoes hired for the purpose had remained in the church during high mass. They now hurried to the convent, and demanded to see Massaniello. The noise awoke Massaniello, who, thinking they were his own adherents, opened the door, and was instantly shot down. Salvatore Cattaneo cut off his head, and showed it to the astonished multitude, who were so taken by surprise that they allowed him and the other murderers to escape. The tumult was great. The Duke of Arcos rode through the streets, accompanied by the nobles and the Archbishop. The privileges were confirmed; a general amnesty granted to all excepting Massaniello's brother and brother-in-law. Giulio Genoino received his promised reward, was made President of the Chamber, and Arpaja remained the people's deputy. On the same day many of the noble families returned to Naples.

The people were thunderstruck. On the following day the price of bread rose. The people bitterly reproached themselves for having suffered their heroic deliverer to be destroyed. They hurried to his grave, sewed his head on to the corpse, put glorious apparel on it, placed it on a bier, and paraded it through the town. By order of the Cardinal Archbishop, four thousand priests accompanied the funeral procession. The standard-bearers lowered their ensigns, the soldiers presented arms, the drums were muffled. The corpse was followed by about forty thousand men and women, some singing litanies, others telling their beads. All the bells were tolled; candles burnt in every window. It was night before the procession returned. The corpse was again committed to earth with the usual ceremonies, in the church of Sta. Maria del Carmine.

Never was a viceroy, or even a great sovereign, borne to his grave with so much pomp and ceremony as Tomaso Aniello of Amalfi.—*Fraser's Magazine.*

AMERICA AND RUSSIA.

From The London Daily News.

IT is the custom of most of the Conservatives of Great Britain (and of some others than Conservatives) to sneer and joke about the notion that Americans have of their own importance in the world. There is no use in proving to such satirists that, in the deepest and largest sense, the Americans cannot exaggerate the importance of their country and nation among the powers of the nineteenth century. The thing has been proved a multitude of times, and all to no purpose, in regard to that order of minds; and to a higher order of minds than those which despise the United States no proof is needed. To say that there is a federal democratic republic at work in the world, supporting all national responsibilities, and not only holding its ground, but rising more rapidly in material prosperity than any other nation in the world, is to proclaim, in other words, the lofty style and title of the United States. But, for those who cannot see and feel this, there is other evidence, new and curious, which is at once adapted to their capacity, and worthy of the deepest consideration from a more sagacious order of men.

This new and curious evidence betrays the sense that the greatest of Conservatives—the Czar himself—has of the importance of the United States—the constant apprehension that he entertains of the liberal cause in Europe being strengthened and aided by the Americans. Bit by bit—crisis by crisis—revolution after revolution—the evidence comes out that the Czar spares no pains to provide occupation for the Americans at home, precisely in the conjuncture when their aid is most wanted by the liberal cause in Europe. The Czar has hitherto always succeeded, because he well knows the weak point of the American system, and can always throw that nation into a paroxysm of agitation by hurting its one fearful sore. He finds and makes plenty of agent for this sort of work. His emissaries abound in the States, and are always busy, inciting the South, and stimulating the representatives at Washington to the high-handed maintenance of their one despotic institution, at the cost of their liberties of petition, of speech, and of the press. There are also always in that country, as in every other, vain and self-seeking men, who become agents and victims of the despot, not only without resistance, but with alacrity; and, between these two classes of agitators, the native and the foreign, agitation has never failed to arise in the United State about the "peculiar domestic institution," at the moment that some effort was making in Europe on behalf of the liberties of nations. In this view, a comparison of dates of the Cisatlantic and Transatlantic agitations which have taken place since the peace yields some very interesting information.

In 1819 and 1820 the state of the Continent was what some of us remember. Kotzebue was corresponding very diligently with the Czar Alexander on "the state of literature and public opinion" in the cities of Germany, where there were eyes always counting the number of letters he sent off, and where there was one foolish young man who fancied he was doing a patriotic act in murdering the letter-writer. All along the Rhine, for hundreds of miles, the people were suddenly appearing in the old German costume, and the "Great Song" of German liberty echoed under the palace walls of the princes in all their capitals. The princes had undertaken a crusade against popular liberties, and risings were the consequence in all the Continental nations. Old Ferdinand of Naples was the Nestor of the Council of Despots; and he provoked the rising in Naples. The French Bourbons were controlling the press, and the Duc de Berri was murdered. The King of Sardinia swam paper ducks in a wash-basin while his Ministers coerced Turin and Genoa to the point of compelling the insurrection of Alessandria. Ferdinand and Metternich of Austria had dealings which none of us forget with their Lombard subjects; and the Constantine of Russia was playing *Caliban* at Warsaw, to the utter exasperation of the Poles. Ferdinand of Spain was inventing tinsel ornaments for the Virgin, sparing attention to dictate the measures which brought on the rising under Riego. Such was the state of the Continent precisely at that time when some extraordinary troubles arose in the United States which diverted their attention (very usefully to the despots) from European affairs. Russia has always taken an interest in the Oregon question her territories lay so near, her ships could keep watch so easily! In a sudden and mysterious way, the Americans became so angry about Oregon that, as Lord Castlereagh told Mr. Rush in London, "the condition of the question was such that war could be produced by holding up a finger." This was well for Russia, as far as it went; but it was yet more important to embroil the Americans among themselves than with the English; so the disruption of the Union was encouraged to the very verge of completion by that outbreak of pro-slavery agitation which occasioned the famous Missouri Compromise. Mr. Clay was ever after called by ordinary politicians (though not by statesmen worthy of the name) the saviour of his country, because he invented that compromise, now repealed by the Nebraska bill—by the clever management of the Czar—just when the Americans are again likely to be wanted in Europe.

The next season of extreme danger to the American Union was when the "Nullification" struggle took place—when the entire energies of the States were occupied in preventing South Carolina and one or two other States from breaking up the Union by their secession. Mr. Clay was again the "Saviour," by the diminishing tariff which he devised and got carried; but the brewing of the storm, the preparation for its outburst the breaking of the waterspout at the critical moment by a skilful shot, and the subsequent setting to rights, occupied a good deal of time; precisely the time that it took to put down the Poles after their rising in 1831, and to smooth down France under the Orleans rule, and to settle Belgium and Holland after their severance; and to get rid of the absconding Duke of Brunswick; and to override Italy once more, and to snub the Germans who demanded their promised constitutions, and to abase Turkey to the last extremity; in short, to get the troublesome affairs of Europe "settled" (as despots called it) before America had time to look off from her own business. It can hardly be necessary to observe that though the American trouble went by the name of "Nullification," the state right question so called was originated by, and was bound up with, the question of slavery.

Here were two "coincidences." The third was within the memory of the youngest who take an interest in the welfare of nations. While Europe was up in 1848-9, the patriots in many countries were asking what the Americans were about. Well, what were they about? They were doing what was beyond measure grateful to the Czar—passing more "compromise measures"—passing the Fugitive Slave Law, to which the enemy of all liberty fondly looks as the instrument of the disruption of the Union whenever it shall suit him to render the Americans helpless. The American—not the people, but their representatives—were passing the Fugitive Slave Law—infringing their Constitution, overriding that of several of the States, incurring the reproach and pity of their best friends all over the world, and preparing for the further struggle which Russia has now, for the fourth time, been instigating and aggravating, while the Eastern question and its probable collateral results have been occupying the attention of Europe.

We all know, from the newspapers, if not otherwise, that Mr. Stephen A. Douglas, a United States Senator, was the chief actor in the passage of the Nebraska bill—the man to whom its rapid passage (too quick for any effectual popular opposition) was mainly owing. Perhaps some of us may not have forgotten the curious incident of the distinction with which the Czar treated this Mr. Douglas, at a review at St. Peterburg, before the Nebraska bill was ever heard of. Those public honours were, as Mr. Douglas's friends declare, followed up by a private interview and long conversation. Some light is cast on the business by a comparison of what took place before and after this adventure befalling the American tourist. Before he left home he was a warm friend and admirer of the Hungarian refugees, with whom he associated and conversed much in America, his sympathy being all on behalf of the Liberal cause. After his Russian adventure he endeavoured to avoid the recognition of those democratic friends when they met in society, and went home to carry the Nebraska bill, just when the Eastern Question was ripening to a war. Of that bill the constituents of the men who passed it have said that it was driven through the two Houses by some disastrous power which the people had no time to restrain; it was passed, not only without the national concurrence, but absolutely against the national will. If so, it may be said they must undo the mischief, and repeal the law. True: and this is what they probably will do; but the process will consume precious time, and wholly absorb the national energy during the crisis of the European struggle. The Nebraska bill and the Fugitive Slave Law are both most dangerous to the long continuance of the Union; and they will, therefore, disappear as the Missouri Compromise has disappeared before them. It cannot be that such scenes as those at Boston on the delivering up of Burns, and throughout Massachusetts on the Fourth of July, can be repeated without imperilling the Union, and the repeal of the obnoxious laws must therefore be looked for with hope by every friend of the liberties of mankind. But to effect that repeal there must be new elections, conflicts of parties, long debates, many vicissitudes, and a slow calming down of the swell after the storm, before the sympathy of the American people can be fairly embarked in any European cause. This is precisely what suits the Czar. He is believed to have wrought for this end, and he has obtained it.

The great question is—how do the Americans like all this? How does it appear to them when their own case is set fully before them? They have had some preparation in the discovery that the newspapers in the slave States were publishing Russians accounts of the progress of the war. Their truest and heartiest friends cannot tell them more. If they do not like their position as an implement for royal sport in the hands of the most monstrous despot in the world, they know how to shake off his abominable clutch. They must release themselves as a nation (whatever individual States may choose to do) from the one despotic institution which places them at the pleasure of tyrants; they must wrench out and cast away the keen wedge which the Russian mallet occasionally greets; and when they have closed up that fissure, and made their grand political fabric all sound and smooth, so that no sly hand can dribble in powder and set the match, they need fear no explosion. It is not the Abolitionists, nor any power on the side of human freedom, that will blow up the Union; it is the mighty and boastful slaveholder of the North of Europe, with his pro-slavery agents always working with in the Republic, who will destroy it, if it be indeed under doom of destruction.

But such an issue is incredible and almost inconceivable. The mind and heart that created the Republic must live on, through successive generations, to preserve it, and it was not only the fathers of the Republic, but its sons, who are pledged before heaven and earth to preserve it "with their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour."

Communicated for The Standard.

BUNYAN, AND HIS BLIND CHILD, IN PRISON.

BY JANE BOWRING CRANCH.

"I found myself encompassed with infirmities. The parting with my poor wife and children hath often been to me, in this place, as the pulling the flesh from my bones; and that not only because I am somewhat too fond of these mercies, but also because I should have often brought to my mind the many hardships, miseries and wants that my poor family was likewise to meet with—*especially my poor blind child*, who lay nearer to my heart than all I had beside. Oh! the thoughts of the hardships I thought my blind one might go under would break my heart to pieces. Poor child, thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world. Thou must be beaten, must beg—suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind shall blow upon thee. But yet, recalling myself, thought I, I must venture you all with God, though it goeth to the quick to leave you."

THY grim walls frown, as they look down,
Thou prison high and strong;
On the river at thy stony feet,
Which calmly glides along—
By cells where clank the chains which tell
Of human guilt and wrong.

And stern and chill thy shadow dark
Is strangely sad express'd,
Where lovely things of earth and sky
In living brightness rest—
Glassed in their fairest hues upon
The mirror of its breast.

Long years those walls hold captive one,
In some damp noisome lair,
Above whose sparkling eye "the soul's
Palace" is broad and fair—
Strength, beauty, love, the characters
By God's hand written there.

The moan of grief, the yell of pain,
May pierce him with their woe;
Yet still, beneath the bridge, he hears
The river's tranquil flow—
And feels the free and fragrant breeze
Across his forehead blow.

He sees the wind the tree-tops wave,
Behind its iron bar—
The sunlight and the fleecy clouds
In glimpses from afar,
And marks the heaven's azure depths
Reveal the evening star.

Two books are his—he opens one,
Light on his soul doth stream;
Of those on earth, baptized in fire,
Reads he by that lamp's gleam.
No! 'tis THE BOOK itself which made
Their torments bliss supreme.

Then in *his* hand, a mighty wand,
Takes up that captive wight;
More potent is its spell than e'er
Was brand of armed knight:
Myriads shall bless the pen doth trace
Those characters of light.

The foot-prints of two hundred years
On Time's sands have left there
No deeper, fairer record than
"The Pilgrim's" aye shall bear—
Succeeding ages on their front
This dreamer's name shall wear.

But now there's sunshine on those walls,
Though all within be night!
See, like a golden finger, points
Yon slender line of light—
A narrow window's grated bars
Pierceth that sunbeam bright.

The inmate of the cell within
Lifts up his head to smile,
His busy hands pause in their work,
Sad thought it doth beguile—
A message to his soul it brings
On which he'll muse awhile.

That sunbeam token, sent from One
Above to him below;
He turns—and sees a meek young face,
Bathed in its golden glow;
Gazing on those *undazzled* eyes,
His own with tears o'erflow.

And bitter drops, they mingle fast
With the coarse threads he weaves,*
Which through her playful fingers pass,
The while his wrung heart grieves—
Till the day's task is done, and with
Its waning light she leaves.

She leaves him with a kiss, which makes
His very spirit weep:
Yet her low childish tones are sweet,
As voices heard in sleep—
And glad her smile, for peace, the dove,
Her little heart doth keep.

The light of day, the fairest thing,
Does from those fountains flow;
Which have their spring in Paradise,
And rains on all below—
The evil and the good, its beams,
That child must never know.

And now she's gone, he cries aloud,
It breaks my heart with fear;
Oh! tender, helpless thing, to think
On what thou'lt suffer here—
For to a parent's yearning soul
The feeblest are most dear.

Thou'lt suffer hunger, cold, harsh words,
Or harsher blows, and tears
They from those sightless eyes shall wring,
Mocking thy childish fears;
Poor heart—its wail e'en through these walls
A prison'd father hears.

Oh! weak of faith, this cup of woe
Fill'd may be to the brim;
Yet when God bids thine heart-strings break,
Still venture all for him.
Affliction purifies, as fire,
The gold it may not dim.

The life of life—my children, wife—
Yes, I can venture all
To One unnoted by whose eye
Yon sparrow may not fall—
Before whom angels bow, and Lord
Adoring seraphs call.

My soul was like the Dove, which erst
Among the pots had lain;
But now there's silver on her wings,
Deep joy from bitter pain—
She shall have light, my child, when thou
And morning come again.

*This is a slight poetic license. Some of Bunyan's biographers simply state that he helped to support his family by making stay-laces whilst in prison; others, more minute, have ascertained it was by tagging them. "England's wondrous dreamer" earned his pittance.

WASHINGTON IRVING IN CONVERSATION WITH N. P. WILLIS, ABOUT TOM MOORE.

WE chanced to be present the other day, when Washington Irving took up the defence of the memory of Tom Moore. So noteworthy an outpouring as it was, of a generous and genial nature—properly eloquent in defence of the friend with whom he had exchanged cordialities and over whose grave he would not, therefore, see an ill weed grow unplucked—we wished, at the time, that the summer wind would play reporter and tell the world of it. The subject was started by Irving's being rallied on having been such a Brummel, while in London, as to have served Moore for a model in dress—as appeared by a passage in one of his letters, giving directions to his publisher to look up Irving's tailor to make him a coat.

"Ah," said Geoffrey, with one of his genial lightings-up of the face still handsome, "that was owing to the mere chance of Moore's having been with me, one morning, when I went into Nugee's. And I have often thought of it since, by the way, as a curious instance of the bringing together of opposite classes in England. We were strolling down St. James street, and Moore just stepped in with me while I ordered a coat. Seeing that Nugee did not know him, I stepped between the two, and said, 'Really, gentlemen, two such very distinguished men ought to know each other! Mr. Nugee, this is Mr. Thomas Moore—Mr. Moore, Mr. Nugee!' Upon which, Nugee, who was worth one hundred and fifty thousand pounds at least, came forward, bowing almost to the ground in his excesive humility, and could not find words enough to express his sense of the honour of such an introduction.* He was delighted with it, too, and thanked me warmly for it afterwards. 'Good creature!' he said of Moore, 'good creature!'—using the phrase very popular in London at that time, to express great admiration. Yes," (continued Irving, musingly), "there was that tailor, worth a magnificent fortune, and he would come to your lodgings, with the coat he had made, to try it on! I remember his flattering way of looking at me, and expressing his interest when I called upon him on my return from the continent, to order something. 'Not looking quite so well, my dear sir, not quite so well! Take care of yourself, dear Mr. Irving!—pray, take care of yourself! We can't spare you yet!' And his look was full of the tenderest sympathy.

"But they do Moore the greatest injustice in denying him a sincere affection for his wife. He really loved her and was proud of her—*I know* it," continued Irving, very emphatically. "When we were in Paris together, I used to go out and breakfast with him, and most delightful those breakfasts were. And I remember being with Moore when his friends, Lord and Lady Holland, had just arrived; and Lady Holland told Tom *they* were coming out the next day to breakfast, and *she* wished particularly to see little Bessy. 'They shall have the breakfast,' said his wife when he told her, 'But they *won't see little Bessy!*' She said it very archly, but with the positiveness of an habitual independence, for she *would* not be patronized by great folks!" Moore admired this, though he used to say it was quite beyond what he was capable of himself. But she *did* yield to him occasionally and go out with him to parties—once, particularly, exciting her husband's greatest admiration by the way her quiet and self-possessed manner completely baffled the condescension of Lady Lansdowne. Her ladyship had intended to be excessively cordial; but the simple way in which "little Bessy" took it as a matter of course, turned the balance of dignity altogether. Moore spoke of it delightedly afterwards. Oh, they have cruelly misrepresented that man! He was an honourable high-minded fellow, and in some trying money matters particularly, he showed the greatest disinterestedness and liberality. He has been shamefully wronged since his death."

Thus vindicatorily of his friend spoke the just and kind Geoffrey Crayon a day or two since; and we are glad to record it while the dark wing of the poet's renown is uppermost. For, says Milton,

"Fame has two wings, one black, the other white—
She waves them both in her unequal flight."

—*Home Journal.*

*Irving thus provided a customer for the tailor. In Moore's Diary occurs the following passage: "Nugee called with the first *sketch* of my coat to try it on; said he would dress me better than ever I was dressed in my life: 'There's not much of you, sir,' he said, 'and, therefore, my object must be to make the most I can of you.' Quite a jewel of a man, this Nugee: have gone to him in consequence of my former tailor being bankrupt."

THE LATE THOMAS HOOD.

WE published yesterday a short announcement of the fact that a monument had been raised to the memory of this great humorist and poet, and that Mr. Monckton Milnes had delivered an address upon the occasion. It was to the following effect:

"I have been asked to come here to-day to say a few words before we open to your view the monument which has been erected to his memory. It is now some years since we laid our friend below us in this pleasant place, where he rests after a long illness—after a life of noble struggle with much adversity, and of nothing but good to his fellow-men. It is now thought advisable that a few words should be said before that ceremony takes place. It is rather a habit of our neighbours the French than of ourselves to make eulogistic orations at the tombs of our friends. I do not think the habit in general is pleasing to our taste; but there are reasons why, on the present occasion, it may not be unbecoming. At the same time, it is very difficult to perform this duty, because we must feel that, if ever there was a character of simplicity and humanity, it was that of the late Mr. Thomas Hood; and it would not become us, on the present occasion, to indulge in eulogies which, if he were here himself, would be distasteful to him, for he was a man who ever retired from the crowd, and who loved, as he has said in his own classical and beautiful language,

"'To kneel remote upon the simple sod,
And sue, *in forma pauperis*, to God.'

"Our German friends call a cemetery of this kind 'God's field,' and we must not desecrate it by vain and pompous eulogies over a fellow-mortal. All we can do is to commit him, with all his errors, to the mercy of God, and at the same time to keep his memory dear and his fame bright among us. This is the purpose of the friends of Mr. Thomas Hood who have raised this structure. Some of them were familiar with him from his youth—the eyes of others never lit upon his person. It would be invidious to single out any of these friends of the poet; but I may mention the name of one lady who is well known to us all, Miss Eliza Cook, to whose exertions, in all quarters of society, the erection of this monument is very much owing. Some, too, have contributed to it who did not appreciate him during his lifetime—to them may be applicable his beautiful lines:

"'Farewell; we did not know thy worth;
But thou art gone, and now 'tis prized.
So angels walked unknown on earth,
But when they flew were recognised.'

He was a poet, a poet in the true sense of the word; but at the same time, I by no means think that his poetical powers were of so great and remarkable a character that his reputation would have become such as it is if it had been confined to his poetical works alone. By his poetical works I mean those developments of pure imagination which are more interesting to literary men than they can be to the world in general. In all these works we recognise not only the lyrical facilities which enable many a youth to throw out good poetry, but the refined taste and cultivated mind of mature years. But his fame—that for which he is chiefly known to us—belongs to him as an English humorist; and in using that word, I use no word inapplicable to the occasion or unworthy of his fame. It is the boast of our literature, as distinguished from that of all other nations, that from the earliest times of its history we find humoristic writers who delighted the age in which they lived and those which succeeded them. In that category we may place Shakspeare himself, and we may draw downwards a long genealogical list of humorists, ending with the names of Charles Lamb, Sydney Smith and Thomas Hood.

"I do not know whether my opinions in this matter may be peculiar, but I have often thought that if I were to pray to Heaven for a gift to be given to any person in whose moral and intellectual warfare I was especially interested, it would be that he might have the gift of humour. The gift of humour is, as it were, the balance of all the faculties. It enables a man to see the strong contrasts of life around him; it prevents him being too much devoted to his own knowledge, and too proud of his own imagination, and it also disposes him to submit with a wise and pious patience to the vicissitudes of his daily existence. It is thus that humorists, such as Hood has been and as Dickens is now, are great benefactors of our species, not only on account of the amusement which they give us, but because they are great moral teachers. The humorous writings of Mr. Thomas Hood have instructed you many years, and will instruct your children after you. I should mention, however, that this combination of poetry and humour does not produce in all persons the same blessed effect that it has produced here. In some cases it has generated into impatient satire and fierce revolt against the better feelings of humanity. In such a mind as that of Swift it produced these evil effects, but in such a mind as Hood's it produced directly the contrary; it generated a noble and generous sympathy with the wants and desires of his fellow-creatures; and it is for this combination of poetical genius and humour and earnest philanthropy that his name has grown up to become as it were a proverb for a great wit, united with deep and solemn sympathies. We recognise, ladies and gentlemen, these rare merits of Mr. Thomas Hood in the production of his mature life, such as 'The Bridge of Sighs,' and 'The Song of the Shirt'—verses which appear occasionally, and only occasionally, in literature, and which seem like products of the acme of the human mind—such products as the prison song of Lovelace, the elegy of Gray, the sea-songs of Campbell, 'the Burial of Sir John Moore,' and the 'May Queen' of Alfred Tennyson—poems which, though they cost their authors much less trouble than many of their less successful works, are, nevertheless, the anchors, so to speak, of their world-wide fame. These beautiful poems of Mr. Thomas Hood have had a deep moral effect on different classes of society. If there are among these poems and others of Mr. Thomas Hood some expressions of stern indignation—if there are some passages which may seem almost exceptions to the general amiability of his character, it is that he wished to enforce the moral that

"'Evil is wrought by want of thought
As well as want of heart.'

I do not think, therefore, that there was any levity in his character because he was a humorist. I do not think, because you find in his works that, with his rich wit and his great possession of language, he delighted to play with words as if almost they were fireworks, there was a want of gravity or seriousness in his composition. In a poem of his, which is a perfect *repertorium* of wit and spirit, he seems conscious of this himself, for he writes to the effect that—

"'However critics may take offence,
A double meaning gives double sense.'

And there are, no doubt, certain subtle faculties about us which enable us to find such great pleasure in the combination of this agility of diction with seriousness of purpose. Ladies and gentlemen who have raised this monument, I was informed by a friend of mine, and a dear friend of his, who remained with him to the last—Mr. Ward—that Mr. Thomas Hood was in very great disease and suffering, that he was labouring under some pecuniary difficulties—that his mind was not easy on those points, and that it would be a great relief to him to obtain some assistance, if he could do so by any honourable means, for he was determined to employ no other.

"I went on that occasion to Sir. R. Peel, from whom I met with the